Routes to tour in Germany

The German Wine Route

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Neustadt

Edenkoben

Bad Bergzabern

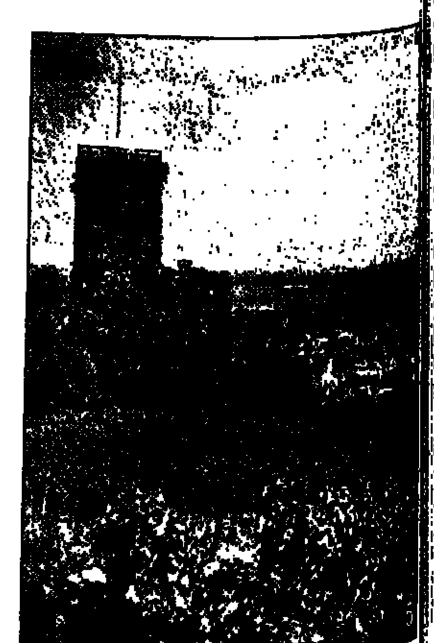
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Wörner in Washington: not all plain sailing

DIE ZEIT

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner flew to Washington expecting the tenor of his talks to be discordant in the extreme, and certainly tension-laden by and large.

The plain sailing will soon be over once he and Defence Secretary Weinberger have signed an agreement on a fundamental updating of air defences in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In spite of financial clashes that preceded it, this agreement is a considerable success, providing for conventional-only air defences in future in the form of US Patriot anti-aircraft missiles, jointly financed, and Franco-German Roland missiles.

Between now and the 1990s the new system will cost Bonn well over DM6bn.

On other points Herr Wörner's American hosts will belabour him with bitter recriminations, starting with dissatisfaction at the real increase in defence spending Bonn plans in the financial year ahead.

In the 1985 budget estimates defence spending may increase at a higher rate than the rest of the budget, but after adjustment for inflation the real increase is less than one per cent, much to Washington's annoyance.

The 1978 Nato agreement to aim at a net annual increase in defence spending of three per cent is still in force.

The Americans are also annoyed, and rightly so, at the Bonn government's reluctance to invest in infrastructure improvements to cater for US troop reinforcements in the event of a crisis in Western Europe.

After an embarrassing round of Balkan bargaining in May Bonn has increased the amount it is prepared to invest, but that still leaves a gap of nearly DM1bn.

German-American financial disputes have come to symbolise more deep-seated differences of opinion. Senator Sam Nunn's troop cut proposal, tabled in the Senate at the end of June, is typical.

Triggered by the financial clash, Senator Nunn, a Democrat, says US forces in Europe should be cut by 90,000 in three years unless America's European allies, by which the Germans are always meant, agree to substantially step up their defence efforts.

After President Reagan had personally intervened, the Senate rejected Senator Nunn's proposal by 55 to 41. Yet even Senators who voted against it sympathised with the sentiment behind the idea, politically unwise though they might feel it to be.

How is the threat of swingeing troop cuts to be reconciled with what Washington describes as a dramatic threat from the Soviet Union? This is a question that naturally comes to mind.

But in the final analysis the only politically relevant point is how seriously the warning repeatedly sounded by Henry Kissinger, for instance, must be taken.

Europe, the former Secretary of State says, must finally face up to the change in outlook within the United States and come to terms with a reduction in US troop strength in Western Europe in the long run.

One response to this idea that is slowly taking shape on this side of the Atlantic is that Western Europe will need to fend for itself more in security policy but not, of course, to decouple strategically from the United States.

Yet this leitmotiv, most keenly endorsed by Bonn and Paris, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be said to end differences of opinion on security priorities within the North Atlantic pact.

There is not the slightest sign of an overall strategy, including a strategy in respect of political ties with the Soviet Union in which Europe, in spite of the Russian arms build-up, insists on political dialogue and cooperation, and on East-West detente.

Differences also extend to the priority Bonn in particular gives to a policy of disarmament and negotiated arms limitation to iron out upsets in the balance of power and contain arms rivalry.

Criticism of President Reagan's space arms plans was prompted by this difference in outlook – until the President said he was prepared to hold talks with the Soviet Union.

Last but not least, there remains a transatlantic clash of interests governments have not yet publicly mentioned.

Europeans are worried America might be planning to limit hostilities to Europe. Americans are worried it might no longer be possible to limit hostilities once they occurred and escalated.

This worry was mainly instrumental in launching the strategy debate on strengthening conventional defences in Europe so as to reduce the need to resort to nuclear weapons at a fairly early stage in hostilities.

But in practice not even as much as a start has been made. The Bonn government is shirking the issue, while the democratic Opposition rules out strengthening conventional defences.

In a resolution for the party conference in May the Social Democrats specifically rejected any idea of stepping up financial commitments in conventional defence.

The Social Democrats were roundly condemned at a German-American gathering held by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn by US under-secretaries Perle of the Pentagon and Burt of the State Department.

The SPD, they said, was opposed as a matter of principle to the nuclear deterrent in Europe yet not prepared to increase Germany's conventional defence commitments.

It was taken to task for being unrealistic, for Opposition excesses and for nebulous thinking.

Conversely, Social Democrats Willy Brandt, Horst Ehme, Andreas von Bülow and Karsten Voigt defended a departure from existing security policy with reference to worries of their own.

They were worried that the arms race, the pace of which had been stepped up by President Reagan, might have come to be a more serious war risk than the Soviet threat.

The United States and its allies have grown further apart in every respect. There is little likelihood of Nato collapsing, but disputes will probably continue and may intensify.

The call for a more specific European security policy as a contribution toward

Continued on page 2



US President Ronald Reagan and Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner in the Oval Office at the White House in Washington, D.C. (Photo: dpa)

Air defences updated

In the years ahead the two dozen batteries of Nike-Hercules nuclear missiles deployed between the Elbe and the Rhine are to be replaced by 24 units equipped with Patriot conventional anti-aircraft missiles.

Half will be paid for by the United States, half by the host country. That, in a nutshell, is the arrangement reached in Washington by Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner.

The terms also provide for German manpower to be used at all launching facilities, for facilities to be maintained by Germans and for German equipment to be provided.

Bonn, it was further agreed, will buy Franco-German Roland anti-aircraft missiles to protect three US air bases in Germany. The Kohl government is also to develop and commission a new defensive-role fighter aircraft.

Herr Wörner refers in connection with the entire package to two-way traffic finally being put into effect, by which he means equal demands will for once be made on the defence budgets of both countries.

That may be true, but there can be no question of the Americans buying as much arms and equipment in Germany as Germany has agreed to buy from the United States.

America is selling Germany missiles. Germany is selling America nothing, apart from service facilities.

That was just what the Reagan administration wanted. Washington was prepared to supply new weapons but not the skilled manpower needed to operate and maintain them.

Bonn was happy to plug this gap, hoping to learn in the process.

Emil Bölte

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 13 July 1984)

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Please note: The next issue of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will be dated 5 August 1984

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

America and Russia seem set to resume talks

DIE ZEIT

Unless all the signs are deceptive the superpowers will meet again at the conference table for fresh talks on nuclear arms limitation in Vienna at the end of September.

At present both sides are stalling and trying by means of overt diplomacy to make sure of a favourable starting-point.

But at the same time they have manoeuvred themselves into a position in which they are seen to favour the idea of talks in principle. It is a position President Reagan can only abandon at the expense of serious election setbacks and Mr Chernenko at that of a major loss of international prestige.

What has led to this change? At the end of June the Soviet ambassador in Washington, Anatoli Dobrynin, made US Secretary of State George Shultz a proposition.

The Soviet Union was prepared to confer with the United States in Vienna in September to prevent the militarisation of space and negotiate a ban on killer satellites. The Soviet news agency, *Tass*, published details on 29 June.

Apart from the date and venue, Vienna in September, it was not exactly a new idea. The Soviet Union has warned against militarisation of space since April 1983, doubtless prompted to do so by *President Reagan's March 1983 Star* Wars speech.

It was the speech in which the US President conjured visions of a world in which nuclear missiles could be made harmless by means of effective defence

In August 1983 Moscow was more specific. Mr Andropov told US Senators the Soviet Union was prepared to negotiate with the United States on scrapping existing and banning new anti-satellite systems.

He also announced a unilateral moratorium that was to last for as long as other countries, including the United States, themselves refrained from deploying anti-satellite systems of any kind in space.

His successor as Kremlin leader, Mr Chernenko, took the idea up again on 12 June. In an interview for the Hearst newspaper group that was published by *Tass* the Soviet leader not only reaffirmed the moratorium.

"Agreement must be reached without delay," he added, "and as long as there has been no space weapons race, with unforeseeable consequences."

Moscow's anxiety is understandable. The Soviet Union may still be the only country with anti-satellite weapons. A spacecraft is fired by launcher rocket to the vicinity of satellite. There it explodes.

This cumbersome system has been tested at least 20 times since 1971, but America seems to be on the point of leapfrogging over Soviet technology again.

US Air Force plans envisage an F-15 fighter launching a small rocket to bring it into the orbit of enemy satellites, tracking them down and eliminating them by means of a head-on collision.

The system underwent preliminary trials in the New Year and is due to be seriously tested this autumn.

In mid-June the Pentagon also announced that a Minuteman missile had for the first time been knocked out by a single ground-fired rocket while still outside the atmosphere. Was it a Star Wars prelude?

Fears of being outstripped were clearly not the only reason why the Soviet Union made its proposals in Washington on 29 June after having consistently and for months ruled out any idea of arms control talks as long as the West failed to call missile deployment to a halt.

Hard-liners in Moscow may have felt there was little risk of the Americans taking up the idea. President Reagan and his advisers have never made any secret of the President's (and the Pentagon's) interest in space technology and its development unhampered by arms control.

On 2 April 1984 President Reagan wrote to both Houses of Congress: "I do not believe it would be useful to enter into formal negotiations" (on anti-satellite weapons). It wasn't possible to satisfactorily monitor any agreement that might be reached.

His scientific adviser, George Keyworth, was even more forthright. "For the next few years or more we want no talks so we can get our programme working flat-out first."

But Washington was good for a surprise. On 29 June, the day *Tass* published details of the Soviet proposal, the White House was quick to react.

Security adviser McFarlane said the United States was prepared to meet the Soviet Union at any venue suggested by the other side:

"First, to discuss and settle the details of agreements accepted by both sides on how negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear and medium-range missiles might be resumed; and

"Second, to discuss and aim at an agreement on ways and means of arriving at verifiable and effective limitation of anti-satellite systems."

That was a cautious but positive response in keeping with Mr Reagan's new image. It had been increasingly apparent since the beginning of June that the President was keen on talks with the Soviet Union.

In his 4 June speech to the Irish Parliament he had offered the Russians an agreement on renunciation of the use of force as a means of breaking the deadlock at the Stockholm conference.

On 9 June the East-West declaration at the Western economic summit in London stressed that the United States was prepared to hold nuclear disarmament talks "at any place, at any time and without strings."

At a 14 June Press conference President Reagan welcomed the idea of a summit meeting with Mr Chernenko even without detailed preparations.

He rejected any idea of military supremacy as a target for the United States and emphasised that it wasn't America that was stalling on talks with the Soviet Union: "We are ready, able and willing."

The President was encouraged to move in this direction by US public opinion. In opinion polls the Americans felt continued dialogue and contacts with the Soviet Union held pride of place among measures most urgently needed to ensure the security of the West.

Congress too had long grown uneasy. Leading Republican Senators called for regular summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union, while Congress made budget allocations for a number of space projects expressly subject to negotiations.

On 12 June the Senate decided it was only going to approve in full the appropriations for the killer satellite programme if the President expressly declared himself ready to negotiate with the Russians on limiting these systems.

Did the Russians want to sound how how serious these statements were by making their proposal? Or did they want to provoke Reagan into rejecting any idea of talks and thereby worsening his election prospects?

Or was Moscow simply not sure just where it stood once more? At all events, the Soviet reaction was anything but cordial. On 1 July *Tass* said the American response was totally unsatisfactory.

Washington didn't want to ban the killer satellites and preferred to avoid serious talks. America's demand for talks on strategic and medium-range missiles too was an unacceptable precondition.

The Soviet Union had called for talks on space weapons: on them and no others. A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said the talks would not take place if the United States were not prepared to abide by a moratorium on space weapons of all kinds before the talks began.

America reacted level-headedly. Secretary of State Shultz restated the US position to Soviet ambassador Dobrynin before he flew home for his summer holidays in early July.

Washington, said a White House spokesman, laid down no conditions. But the US delegation would be raising missile issues too, and: "We'll be in Vienna."

The Russians are unlikely to leave the Americans to their own devices in the Austrian capital. A fresh "nyet," especially if it was poorly accounted for, would be a priceless trump in Mr Reagan's election campaign. That alone is why the autumn summit is sure to take place.

But it is unlikely to get off to more than an extremely modest start. The two sides' interests are too far apart.

Both may proclaim how keen they are to hold talks but they remain totally incapable of making proposals that might do each other's security interests justice.

Change could be brought about only by the replacement of the hawks in Moscow and an election defeat for Mr Reagan in November. But at present the signs are that talks will be held with deaf ears.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, 13 July 1984)

Continued from page 1

a more even balance of burdens between America and Europe is a step in the right direction.

Yet in the final analysis progress will depend on whether security policy rapprochement between Bonn and Paris will really extend beyond mere agreement on defence technicalities.

Helmut Schmidt's suggestion of a Franco-German political and military security community retaining in full France's nuclear autonomy is a maximum objective.

But as President Mitterrand is still very much a Gaullist in this respect, nothing by way of a deep-seated change need be expected in the near future.

France, he feels, must retain full security policy independence. There must be no automatic pledges of support in the event of an attack. There is to be no extension of guarantees of protection beyond the borders of French national territory.

Yet the Bonn government must continue to try and mark out a European security policy, and not as a partial replacement for ties with America but as an addition to them. The alarming motion tabled by Senator Nunn shows just how seriously Dr Kissinger's warnings need to be taken.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 13 July 1984)

'No plans to manufacture missiles'

Bonn has no intention of manufacturing either strategic bombers or long-range missiles, Jürgen Möllemann, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, has assured the Bundestag. The Western European Union had just waived the last restrictions on the manufacture of conventional weapons by the Federal Republic of Germany. The WEU decision has been criticised by Moscow as enabling Bonn to manufacture offensive weapons of its own over and above the newly-stationed US missiles.

The summer recess in foreign affairs is slowly being filled with dense smoke as accusations of West German revanchism Moscow has levelled at Bonn for months with growing zeal are joined by suspicions that Bonn might have dangerous arms ambitions.

In both cases it is first and foremost a matter of signals that the dispute over the new Euro-missiles is not over and remains on the agenda.

Conversely, if the missile dispute did not exist, Moscow would probably be as unmoved by evidence of "revanchism" today as it has been for the past decade.

Even formal permission for the Federal Republic to go ahead and make long-range weapons it used to be prohibited from manufacturing would surely have sounded a much less shrill alarm.

Demonstrative emphasis of the upset in relations is joined by a further motive. Moscow is still not sure what to make of a trend characterised by the resurrection of the well-night forgotten Western European Union and by greater Franco-German cooperation in military and arms policy.

Does it mark the beginning of Western Europe going it alone within Nato in a way that might one days prove politically beneficial and offset Washington's policy?

Or is it merely a special group in the making, with its own arms dynamics but of use, in the final analysis, to overall US policy.

As this is a question not even Western European politicians seem able to answer in detail, Moscow has even less idea but has decided for the time being to work on the least favourable assumption.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 July 1984)

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■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Bonn and East Berlin: ties are remarkably resilient

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

A kind of paradox has characterised intra-German relations over the past few weeks. The relationship between the two German states is extremely sensitive and at the same time surprisingly stable.

They have, for example, survived the dramatic sit-in by would-be GDR refugees at Bonn's mission in East Berlin without after-effects.

What was expected to be a barrier to progress in intra-German contacts unexpectedly turned out to be a decisive moment to clear stumbling blocks out of the way.

When Bonn government spokesman Peter Boenisch announced that the head of its mission in East Berlin was negotiating on "all" questions in connection with the 55 East Germans who had sought uncomfortable sanctuary in the mission building, no-one was quite certain what he meant.

It seemed at the time and even later to refer to finding a way out for the fugitives so that they went unpunished and, in the foreseeable future, were allowed to travel to the West as they had demanded.

In fact that was only in the foreground. CSU indiscretions, not involved in political interests but more with malice.

The background was once again negotiations dealing with cash for people, as well as the aviation agreement between Lufthansa and Interflug included in the package now announced.

What helped here was an identity of interests. Both sides had an aim in view. Firstly there was the agreement over the new credit and relief in the conditions applied to people travelling to East Germany, and then the long-announced East German leader's visit to the Federal Republic.

The East Germans drew back from their previous position, that they would not be forced into allowing those who had fled into Bonn's mission in East Berlin to cross into West Germany itself.

And the Federal Republic had to take into consideration the possibility of getting a bad name. Bonn may have announced that conversion work at the mission was just to bring it into line with other official buildings — in reality it involved making it more difficult for fugitives.

The motives in both aims are, as always in intra-German dialogue, various.

The West German government is obliged by Basic Law and by how it sees its role in intra-German affairs to care for the interests of all Germans and do everything possible to mitigate the effects of the division of Germany and ease the people's plight.

Those in the present Coalition involved in intra-German policies saw that in order to get anywhere they must choose the same ways and means as their predecessors. They have not always excelled in understanding, cooperation and compromise.

East German motives are often difficult to understand. In East Germany economic affairs are always predominant. Ilse Spittelmann, editor of *Deutschland-Archiv*, recently said the Russian leadership was incapable of stabilising its economic and political spheres of influence. She wrote that the Kremlin's authority was only total in a military sense.

Only the weakest and the most endangered can expect Russian economic assistance, such as Cuba, Vietnam or Poland, because the Russian economy itself is floundering.

The others when in difficulties have to fend for themselves. It was not so in the 1950s and 1960s. East Berlin now, for example, has to contribute more than before to Russian armaments.

This obliges a state such as East Germany automatically to turn to economic relations with capitalist countries, such as the Federal Republic.

Via intra-German trade East Germany has opened up the whole of the EEC, simply and at little expense, for hard-currency earning business.

In the interests of this life-saving, even survival trade East Germany is prepared to build up relations with the Federal Republic, independent of deviations in the political macro-climate.

Ilse Spittelmann said: "They need a reliable, dependable, long-term partnership, so as not to be detached from international technological developments, to maintain their credit in international foreign exchange markets and not to have to reduce their living standards."

The last point seems to be particularly important. Erich Honecker wants to consolidate Communism and his regime by satisfying consumer requirements. But this central aim of Honecker's policies is endangered as a result of economic difficulties between East and West. Dissatisfaction is heightened by the lack of goods of all kinds, that give a little luxury and comfort. This strengthens the wish to get out. Those who believe that the desire to emigrate is prompted by the lack of freedom do not know East Germany very well. Honecker has more room for manoeuvre through his efforts to build up economic relations with the West in general and with the Federal Republic in particular. Internal weaknesses have shortened the Kremlin's arm that once used to be so long.

It is certain that East Germany does not go it alone, however. Everything that East Berlin does is done with Moscow's cognisance, but the masters in the Kremlin can forbid or permit far less now than they used to be able to.

The announcement this week that Erich Honecker would visit West Germany is only another attempt to consolidate the network of relations with the West and to put an end to past isolation. But contrary to relations with other states the connections are so fragile that surprising things can happan.

Government officials in Bonn will believe that Honecker's visit is really on only when he gets off the train.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 15 July 1984)



'Welcome to Bonn'

Bonn Transport Minister Werner Dollinger (left) welcoming his GDR opposite number Otto Arndt at Bonn's main railway station, where he arrived for a three-day visit including a stopover in Munich. Talks were cordial and Herr Dollinger accepted an invitation to visit the GDR. (Photo: dpa)

Easy-going East-West go-between

If the 55 East Germans who sought refuge in Bonn's mission in East Berlin get out of East Germany in the foreseeable future they will have two men mainly to thank.

They are Ludwig Rehlinger, state secretary at the Intra-German Affairs Ministry in Bonn, and Wolfgang Vogel, the East Berlin lawyer and envoy of Herr Honecker.

Both men are lawyers by profession. Both are Berliners.

Rehlinger at first glance does not look like a government official, because he has none of the senior civil servant stiffness and formality that characterises Prussian officials.

Rehlinger has been a businessman. He has a jolly laugh and he is a born reconciler, predestined to be a mediator. In short he is a man you can talk to.

He has had to put these qualities to the test in the past ten years, along with a persistence, unnoticed at first, but that could be seen in the past few weeks in East Berlin.

For it is said of Rehlinger that on the West German side he invented the system of paying ransom money for political prisoners in East Germany.

It was he who put it to the test and turned it into an institution, along with the reunification of families.

In 1957 he joined the Ministry in which he now serves as a state secretary. He was head of Ernst Lemmer's office and political adviser to the Ministry. When Rainer Barzel was the Minister in



Ludwig Rehlinger

(Drawing: Erich Krafft/Hamburger Abendblatt)

1963 he "inherited" Rehlinger from his predecessor.

From these accidental acquaintanceships there has developed a close cooperation that continues to this day.

The rumour that East Germany was prepared to release political prisoners for money that reached Barzel and Rehlinger in 1964 played an important role.

Rehlinger, together with the West Berlin lawyer Stange explored the validity of this rumour, and met their East Berlin counterpart Wolfgang Vogel, who is still their negotiating partner.

It was a very un-ministerial business when the first eight were transferred to West Germany. Since then 5,000 political prisoners have been ransomed.

Rehlinger has the unenviable task of selecting the candidates.

When the first two to be ransomed had arrived at the transfer point he went with Stange and the agreed sum by S-Bahn from West to East Berlin for the transfer.

Previously Barzel had given him a letter authorising him to pick up the cash. That was a few years ago but an indication of how unbureaucratic Rehlinger is.

There are now 5,000 who have been released in this way, along with 2,000 children Rehlinger has reunited with parents who had fled to the West.

From this the family reunification scheme developed. This year 30,000 people have left East Germnany for the West.

But he avoids publicity, for very good reasons. For him, as for his opposite number in East Berlin, Wolfgang Vogel, the political saying "Do good but don't talk about it" is important.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 July 1984)

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

All smiles on the surface

Süddeutsche Zeitung

No change was the message at the Roman Catholic church assembly in Munich, so much so that Bishop Hemmerle of Aachen, inviting Catholics to the 1986 assembly, said piety and joy would be its keynotes.

There was no reason to doubt he would be right. Experience at Munich, and previous Roman Catholic church assemblies, seems likely to apply to Aachen too.

Pious and joyful are epithets that could well have headed the conclusions reached by Cardinal Höffner, chairman of the German episcopal conference, who agreed with most observers in praising the serene and relaxed atmosphere of the Munich gathering.

Participants had grown increasingly prepared to deal extremely mildly and sweet-temperedly with each other and to discuss even clashing views in a manner that was largely free from aggression.

Cardinal Höffner also said that many assembly proceedings had shown a revival of religious spirit, and at first glance this impression seems to have been warranted.

Satisfactory though such conclusions may sound, they are superficial in their desire to stress harmony and not an accurate reflection of the state of the Roman Catholic church in Germany as revealed in Munich.

Major clashes may not have occurred, but it would be wrong to infer from the failure of the younger generation in particular (who made up the majority of participants at Munich, as on previous occasions) to level trenchant criticism at church officials that they were satisfied with the hierarchy.

In reality the overwhelming majority of young Catholics (and not necessarily only the young) have largely lost interest in both church leaders and the ecclesiastical set-up.

Instead, they make do with themselves, which at times is pleasing, at times anything but.

Many 15- to 20-year-olds in Munich seemed prepared to play the guitar and sing religious songs at the drop of a hat, and that could be taken to mean the young showed signs of a more religious outlook.

But this delight in leisure liturgy is more likely to have expressed a purely emotional desire to escape from both the problems of a reality they felt defied comprehension and the disputes over the content of their beliefs.

Many, of course, seriously try to be committed Christians in society. They either spoke or listened at the full-house debates on issues such as peace, environmental protection, unemployment and the belief in progress.

Yet they too, as many statements and reactions showed, have long developed an individual Catholic self-awareness regardless of (and at times disregarding with a shrug of the shoulder) the official church viewpoint.

The church lives from below, an active rank-and-file movement proclaimed in Munich. It has long been right and, what is so alarming, many of the clergy seem not to have grasped the fact.

This isn't just a reference to the bishops, and as for the Central Committee of German Catholics, the leading lay organisation, it barely merits a mention.

It was so anxious not to create a political upset and so solicitous in the statements it issued at the assembly that it merely stood out in comic contrast to what really went on at the Munich trade fair grounds.

A more important point, and a far more serious threat to the organisation of the church and its social standing, is the lack of understanding, often not *even malicious, shown by many lay* church officials for their non-practising fellow-Catholics.

Bishop Lehmann of Mainz is one of the few churchmen to have spoken out on this problem. He said parish elders were often shamefully dependent on their priests.

Their sense of responsibility to the world at large and social commitment outside the church had declined dramatically.

Much too little was done for non-practising Catholics, he said. There was usually too little awareness of the secret erosion of belief.

This message, ostensibly aimed at parish elders, may in reality have been aimed at his fellow-bishops, but they are likely to carry on after the Munich gathering as though nothing had happened — certainly nothing that might give rise to alarm.

"Brothers and sisters," the Archbishop of Munich said in his final sermon, "let us set the sails of our ship of life to the unending wind of the divine spirit."

Those who give navigation instructions in such vague terms need not be surprised when the fleet no longer sails in their wake.

Rainer Stephan

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 July 1984)

Deep concern is voiced at Munich church assembly

Since the 1970s Roman Catholic and Protestant church assemblies have regularly been interesting pointers to the signs of the times.

The 88th Roman Catholic church assembly, attended by over 100,000 people in Munich, must have given both ecclesiastical and political leaders food for thought.

In detail it may be difficult to interpret the assembly, so wide a range of views was voiced.

But the issues that mainly concern most Roman Catholics today were readily apparent at non-stop debates that went on for three days. They were chaired by experts and well-known figures and attended by several thousand people each.

The Central Committee of German Catholics held its lay meeting under the heading "Trust In Life — God Lives It With Us." The tenor was to be one of Christian confidence.

For many participants this confidence may indeed be crucial in the final analysis, but people were clearly most worried about life today.

They are afraid of further destruction of our natural environment, be it by increasing industrial growth and ruthless exploitation of resources or by overpopulation and mass tourism.

The outcome could so easily be a threat to human survival, or at least to a life worth living. There were also the threats represented by genetic engineering and the risk of nuclear destruction.

Mass rallies such as the Roman Catholic assembly are naturally not needed to sound such warnings. But the assembly, with its wide range of means of expression, is a sign of the times that particularly lends itself to analy[sis]. Munich also clearly indicated the yar[d]sticks by which the words and deeds [of] politicians, businessmen, scientists [and] even church leaders today are larg[ely] judged.

The assemblies of both churches [may] be attended mainly by the young, [but] that restricts only to a limited ext[ent] their general validity.

As for the attitude of the young (w[ho] made up 70 per cent of participa[nts]) toward the church establishment, M[u]nich again testified to critical deta[ch]ment in many respects.

In all discussions on such issues young people were seen to have serio[us] problems with Roman Catholic mor[al] teachings on, say, pre-marital sex a[nd] couples living together without getti[ng] married.

Many youngsters may well be critic[al] of the church on many issues, but it [is] doubtful whether they share the view[s] of the "church from below" pep group.

This rank-and-file organisation ag[ain] voiced extremist views criticising th[e] church and making political demands.

Rudolf Grimm

(Nordwest Zeitung, 9 July 1984)

Did Catholics do enough to help the Jews?

DIE WELT

Ought the Roman Catholic church, led by Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, to have spoken out more strongly against persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich?

Did it do all it could, relying on the concordat with Hitler? Would Hitler really, as Bertram believed, have crushed the church as an organisation and deprived it of its last pastoral opportunities if the bishops had staunchly championed human rights?

Historically, the answer seems likely to continue to differ. It depends, for one, on whether you are a Catholic or a Jew. This dilemma was apparent in a platform debate on the subject held at the Roman Catholic church assembly in Munich.

Using the level-headed words of a historian Professor Rudolf Lill, of Passau, outlined the background against which National Socialism with its cynical world view was able to emerge.

He accused the Catholic church in both Germany and Europe of being partly to blame for the anti-Semitism of the Third Reich by virtue of its anti-Judaism.

He said Cardinal Bertram had wanted to avoid an open clash with the Nazis because the church itself was on the defensive.

Roman Catholic bishops had mainly spoken out in contexts where they could lay claim to an "active legitimation" or official responsibility.

One answer to the problem, at least for those who judge more in terms of morality than of history, was given by Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, a Berlin-born Jew who escaped persecution with the aid of friends.

He reminded the floor of the murder of the dean of Berlin cathedral, Bernhard Lichtenberg.

Canon Lichtenberg had protested publicly against the fires that swept German synagogues in November 1938, saying they too were houses of the Lord.

He recalled the words of Jesuit and historian Ludwig Volk, who had regretted that the Jews had not had a second Bishop von Galen of Münster.

A keen advocate of a tougher stand against the Hitler regime, he had campaigned against euthanasia and partly stopped the Nazis from going ahead with their policy on this issue.

Ehrlich said an equally forthright campaign on behalf of the persecuted Jews would have triggered a similar response by the Nazi authorities.

Georg Bauer

(Die Welt, 9 July 1984)

1848-1984

Roman Catholic church assemblies in Germany date back to the mid-19th century when the Catholics sought to make use of the freedoms gained in the 1848 revolution, such as the freedom of assembly and association and freedom of the Press.

The 1848 revolution began in March. In October the Roman Catholic associations that had been set up all over Germany were established as a national body in Mainz.

This inaugural gathering is regarded as having been the first Catholic church assembly. The aims of the association were to free the church from state tutelage and to achieve national unity.

After the failure of the March 1848 revolution these aims were relegated to a minor role at the May and October 1849 assemblies in Breslau and Regensburg.

In 1868 the central committee that has since organised assemblies was set up at the 19th Catholic church assembly in Bamberg.

The committee still exists. Its general secretary is Friedrich Kronenberg. Roman Catholic associations have traditionally played a leading role at assemblies.

From 1870 on, the year in which Bismarck's Reich was founded, assemblies were increasingly political in character, especially once the leader of the Catholic Centre Party, Winthorst, began to misuse them as political rallies.

These close links were retained until the Weimar Republic, but today's assemblies are gigantic in comparison with earlier gatherings.

In 1865 there were 400 people in Trier. By 1909 there were 26,000 at the church assembly in Breslau. This year there were 100,000 in Munich.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 5 July 1984)

■ DEFENCE

The dilemma of being a major arms exporter

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Compared with defence spending, government expenditure on development aid is negligible. Annual world spending on arms and equipment totals over DM1,200bn, over half by America and Russia. Public-sector development aid totals a mere DM60bn a year.

"In any case," the first report of the North-South Commission noted, "a causal link exists between the enormous arms expenditure and the shameful inadequate spending on measures to eliminate famine and sickness in the Third World."

According to the latest estimates the WHO plan to eliminate malaria would cost a thousandth of annual world military spending, or roughly DM1.2bn.

Conventional, non-nuclear weapons take up about 80 per cent of total arms spending. Nearly all wars and hostilities since 1946 have been waged conventionally and in the Third World — at a cost of over 10 million lives.

Some of the most lethal wars have relied on small arms. The civil war in Lebanon, for instance, has already resulted in more fatalities than all four wars between Israel and the Arabs.

Arms exports by Germany has always been a controversial issue. In 1981 debate flared up again in the Federal Republic of Germany on fundamentals in connection with the proposed sale of Leopard 2 tanks to Saudi Arabia and submarines to Chile.

Export permits were granted for the two submarines to Chile, but the news, when leaked, spelt trouble for the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn.

Yet the government was urged by many to go ahead with the lucrative sale of Leopard tanks to Saudi Arabia, a deal that was at least as controversial, if not more so, on account of Israel.

Since the mid-1970s Bonn has increasingly sanctioned arms exports to the Third World, including trouble spots. The German arms industry is one of the world's largest once more and its products are in demand.

It employs as many people as the steel industry, yet exact and up-to-date figures on the value and quantity of German arms exports are hard to come by. Data have to be compiled from various sources.

By the terms of an agreement between the Bonn Defence Ministry and the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden German arms export statistics are compiled monthly but figures are not published.

It is a fact, however, that for years German arms and equipment have been involved in nearly all hostilities all over the world despite the strict export limitations designed to prevent this from happening.

Critics say the arms export regulations have been breached whenever it was felt to be necessary and convenient.

Arms exports are subject to the provisions of the War Weapons Control Act and the Foreign Trade Act, both of which were passed in April 1961, when the CDU/CSU had an absolute majority in the Bundestag.

Restrictive principles were laid down by the SPD-FDP Bonn government in 1971 on arms exports, but they were never clearly followed.

The controversial debate on whether or not to sell battle tanks to Saudi Arabia (and arms export policy as previously practised) led to the drafting of fresh arms export guidelines in spring 1982.

Many options have since been available. Arms exports to non-Nato countries can now be approved if "vital interests of the Federal Republic indicate that a permit should be issued by way of an exception."

As a matter of principle, priority must be given to considerations of cooperation in sales of arms and equipment jointly manufactured with other countries. No mention is made in the new guidelines of the term "tension area," or hot spot.

Unnoticed by many, the Federal Republic of Germany has emerged as a league leader among the world's arms exporters, according to SIPRI, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Between 1977 and 1980 it came sixth in the trade in war weapons, i.e. heavy weapons such as warships, aircraft, missiles and tanks. The first five were the United States and the Soviet Union, France, Italy and Britain.

In overall exports of arms and equipment the Federal Republic of Germany *again comes sixth, this time according to* figures for 1967 to 1976 compiled by ACDA, the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

During this period its arms exports totalled roughly $2bn. The other five were the United States and the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China.

The latest figures show Germany about to outstrip Britain and France in Nato. Experts say the Federal Republic exported arms and equipment worth DM10bn in the 1970s.

•Arms trade up as percentage of German exports•

There has certainly been a definite increase in arms as a percentage of German exports overall: from 0.26 per cent in 1973 to 0.79 per cent in 1979.

Much is exported to the Third World. Between 1969 and 1978, according to Economic Affairs Ministry figures revealed in 1979, arms were exported to 54 states, of which 33 were neither Nato nor comparable countries.

Arms ties in the widest sense of the term were maintained with 71 developing countries during this period, the Ministry said. Germany has been a pacemaker in selling submarines to Third World countries.

Some peace researchers say no country has sold more new submarines to the Third World than the Federal Republic of Germany, and the list of buyers and interested parties is certainly long, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela in South America and India and Indonesia in Asia.

It is no longer a secret that in the Gulf War German arms and equipment are in use by the Iraqis.

Arms for the Third World
1974-1983 sales in $bn (at 1975 prices)
SUPPLIERS
USA 30.2
France 9.1
Britain 5.1
Italy 3.3
Fed Rep Ger 1.7
USSR 30.1
Others 7.1
RECIPIENTS
Latin America 9.8
North Africa 10.7
Middle East 41.9 Mrd $
Black Africa 6.1
South Asia 6.4
Far East 10.1
Others 1.8
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German arms manufacturers don't just do business all over the world. They account for hundreds of thousands of jobs at home, the argument goes. An estimated 240,000 German jobs are said to depend on the arms trade.

But only 30,000 to 40,000 jobs are directly affected by arms exports, as most manufacturers supply the Bundeswehr, and latest estimates indicate that arms exports to the Third World account for a mere 10,000 jobs.

These jobs are by no means as safe as they are often made out to be. Never has the arms industry been so reliant on procurement "waves" as it is today.

Once the development and procurement programme for a major weapon *system such as the Tornado multi-role* combat aircraft is over, jobs are in jeopardy — unless export orders come in.

Besides, the world arms trade is on the decline. This is not because anyone has come to realise that the arms race is pointless. It is because the developing countries in particular are chronically short of cash.

Why do Third World countries seek to buy, or manufacture themselves, arms and military equipment whenever they can? For much the same reasons as other countries, according to experts at a hearing on Development and Armament held last February by the Bundestag economic cooperation committee.

Motives cited include the quest for greater independence and the striving for regional hegemony.

Despite famine and drought, poverty and hardship, the developing countries' arms spending increased from $33.3bn to $146.8bn between 1968 and 1980.

Domestic arms production has particularly increased, with about 30 developing countries now having ordnance factories of their own, some of them even being independent.

A number of Third World countries, especially Brazil, have built up such substantial arms production capacities that they are now in a position to export arms.

German arms may be widely used in the Third World, but very few are directly exported to Third World countries.

Indirectly, by signing licence agreements, supplying production facilities, exporting turnkey ordnance factories and exporting arms via cooperation agreements with other Nato countries, the Federal Republic of Germany has completely outstripped other industrialised countries in the West.

This export of know-how, production licences and entire factories forms part of the strategy by which German manufacturers circumvent or undermine the existing export control regulations.

Of the cases that have come to light, that of small arms manufacturers Heckler & Koch is the most striking example. At least 15 African, 10 South American and 13 Asian countries have the G-3 assault gun originally manufactured by this firm.

•German G-3 rifle is now made in 13 countries•

According to the latest information *the G-3, which is used by the Bundes*wehr and is still used in a number of wars, is no longer manufactured in Germany but still produced in seven European countries, in Mexico, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand.

So the overwhelming majority of German arms exports finds its way legally to the developing countries. Yet manufacturers and arms dealers are regularly suspected of shady deals by the public prosecutor.

Four executives of Rheinmetall, Düsseldorf, will shortly stand trial charged with illegally exporting war weapons to South Africa, Saudi Arabia and Argentina.

They are accused of repeated breaches of the War Weapons Control Act. Application to start proceedings was made last August and approved in February. The trial is likely to be held in Düsseldorf after the summer recess.

A range of Bonn Ministry officials and former Ministers in the SPD-FDP government are likely to be questioned in court.

The developing countries in particular squander enormous amounts of money on armaments. It is money they lack in their bids to improve socio-economic conditions as the only lasting solution to their problems.

In March 1982 Bundestag MPs called in a debate on a joint resolution on development policy for drastic cuts in government financial aid to highly-armed Third World countries.

"A country that arms to the teeth must be made to fe.. the consequences in development aid," said Heinz Günther Hüsch, CDU development aid spokesman.

Norbert A. Sklorz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 6 July 1984)

■ TRADE

EEC and ACP countries still not agreed on terms of new Lomé agreement

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Foreign Ministers from the ten EEC countries and their colleagues from 64 Third World states left Luxembourg perplexed again after three days of deliberations.

They had failed to renegotiate the Lomé Agreement between the rich European countries and the poor nations of the developing world.

Two months earlier, at a jumbo Ministerial conference in Suva, Fiji, all delegations emphasised their determination to renew the current agreement when it expired at the end of February 1985.

Little was gained from French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson appealing for a return to the "climate of trust and the constructive spirit" that was so much in evidence on the South Pacific island.

In Luxembourg the question remained, now as before, how the European Community countries and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states were to cooperate.

Another unresolved question was how much the Common Market countries are prepared to invest in the mainstay of their joint development aid policy between now and the end of the decade.

The sluggish progress of the negotiations on the third Lomé Agreement stands in direct contradiction to opinions expressed.

Alois Mertes, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, said:

"Lomé is an example of cooperation between North and South, and it represents Europe as an entity of political importance in the Third World."

European Community Commissioner Edgar Pisani said: "The Lomé Agreement is the only example of ten industrialised nations bound solidly to 64 developing countries."

Pisani did not doubt then that the agreement would be renewed via an eventual "moderate compromise or new vision." Brussels development aid experts were not prepared to make any forecasts.

It all began on 28 February 1975. In Lomé, the capital of Togo, the Foreign Ministers of the then nine EEC nations and diplomats from 46 developing countries signed the first agreement dealing with extensive economic cooperation.

Later, in Lomé 2, the agreement reached in 1980, three points were emphasised:

- the ACP countries should have free access to the Common Market without reciprocal advantages;
- EEC measures were to protect them against export losses from unforeseen fluctuations in world market prices;
- and development aid was to be financed via the European Development Fund (EDF).

The signatories to this agreement were mainly states that had previously been colonies of individual European Community countries.

To promote economic development in these countries the EEC invested 3.1 billion units of account in the European Development Fund between 1975 and 1980. By current values that would be DM6.9bn.

For Lomé 2, covering the period 1980 to 1985 and involving from the beginning 58 developing countries, more than DM10bn was raised.

And if the EEC Commission has its way under Lomé 3, from 1985 to 1990, the fund will be increased by 80 per cent to 8.5 billion units of account — almost DM20bn.

Bonn's financial planners found these figures quite unrealistic. The EDF cash was not to come from the EEC funds but from national budgets, and West Germany would have to provide 28 per cent, the largest share.

Funds were to be distributed in the form of grants for development projects. So everything would be financed that the ACP countries wanted and the Europeans considered sensible, from tubewells to dams and from village industries to major industrial projects.

This original concept of development aid was governed by the "Stabex system," a special and unique element of Lomé policy. This was a kind of insurance for exports from the Third World.

When the price of coffee, cocoa, tea, sisal or other commodities dropped the EEC countries guaranteed the ACP states that they would purchase their products at an agreed minimum price.

Dependence on sudden and speculative fluctuations on international markets would in this way be minimised.

The ACP countries have a considerable interest in ensuring that the Stabex system, which now covers 44 commodities and will cost DM1.2bn between 1980 and 1985, should be maintained and extended to include other raw materials.

The "Sysmin system" operates in a similar way to "Stabex," covering commodities such as bauxite and iron ore.

The considerable funds provided by Europe have not achieved the results hoped for, since most ACP states are in a worse economic position than they were in the mid-1970s.

Their foreign indebtedness has increased dramatically and their position in world trade has weakened.

Only about five per cent of total EEC imports at the beginning of the 1980s originated from the ACP countries, but in 1970 the ACP share was over eight per cent.

Raw materials exports for EEC industry were the main trading items. Industrial products accounted for four per cent of Third World exports.

The opposite is true of ACP countries' imports of European industrial products, although they have increased only very moderately.

In 1970 six per cent of Europe's exports were taken up by ACP countries and this has slightly increased, by one percentage point.

This has meant that the trade balance between the EEC nations and the ACP countries has not diminished but has increased.

Commissioner Pisani said: "The results have shown that aid was inappropriate or wrongly judged and that many Third World countries have not chalked up real gains from it."

A big mistake was the emphasis on major industrial projects and the neglect of agricultural development.

Ludwig Fellermaier MEP said when agriculture was in a backward condition it was best to put alongside it only a small, modern industrial sector.

Few Third World countries have become rich. Despite the support they have had, most of them continue to be poor.

So in the future agriculture is to be given priority, and the emphasis will be on improving food production so that eventually they are self-supporting.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7 July 1984)

Bonn strongly favours new Gatt round to fight protectionism

Bonn emphatically supports proposals for a new round of Gatt talks to take place in the second half of this decade after careful preparation.

In this statement the CDU/CSU-FDP government has answered an allied, larger point: the importance of discussing in a new round of Gatt talks new forms of protectionism.

Gatt is an international instrument which lays down rules of conduct on a worldwide basis, and is accepted by most of the leading trading nations. The Gatt secretariat is in Geneva.

The West German goverment has proposed for the next round measures against the growth of bilateral agreements limiting exports which gets round a number of Gatt regulations.

In addition something must be done about competition distortions caused by subsidies to agriculture and industry, and limitations on trade by administrative practices for imports or technical regulations, testing procedures and standards.

The West German government also wants to discuss industrial targeting.

There are criticisms that can be levelled at the West German government. The government maintains, however, that the cutbacks in steel, coal, textiles and agriculture are not so much the result of specific West German actions but more the result of EEC connections.

The West German government sees good chances for West German exports in the future, even though there are weaknesses as compared with American and Japanese companies.

Generally speaking the competitivity of West German industry internationally is good.

As previously, West German industry has a top position among international competition. After the USA but in front of Japan West Germany is the world's

Continued on page 8

Europe, Japan compete for Asean market

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Warnings that the industrialised countries of Europe could be letting chances slip by in rapid economic growth South-East Asia are not new.

They will be repeated at the conference in Djakarta next week between the six Asean countries, the Western industrialised nations and Japan.

The EEC will be represented by the president of the Council of Ministers, the Irish Foreign Minister, Peter Barry, and the vice-president of the EEC Commission, Wilhelm Haferkamp.

Delegates will hear again that there is a danger that the Europeans will lose the lucrative and raw materials-rich markets of South-East Asia to the Americans and the Japanese.

In Europe, and particularly in West Germany, industrialists are increasingly irritated by such criticisms. They will not have it that they are letting the favourable moment slip by.

Statistics are proudly presented which show a two-digit increase in exports to the region, despite a slowdown in export developments overall.

Consideration must be given to the fact that the steep increase begins from a relatively low base, dulling the position a little.

The picture is completed by the fact that Japan supplies about half the Asean countries' import demands, and America provides about a quarter.

The ten EEC countries have a twenty-per-cent share of South-East Asia trade, and West Germany runs the risk of losing its lead among the Ten soon.

The position is even more disturbing when a comparison is made of investment in the region. Up to now the Japanese have placed more than a quarter of their total investment abroad in Asia and a lion's share of this has been deployed in the Asean area.

This is twice as much as West Germany has pumped into the Third World where for many years Latin America has had priority.

Certainly it cannot be denied that the Japanese take advantage of markets that are on their doorstep. And the American competition gets support from the White House with its purposeful Pacific strategy.

On the other hand there are enough voices in the Asean region, and in the governments of the area, that warn against creating a Pacific basin underpinned by Reagan.

They view the security plans from Washington with some scepticism. They take the same view, but to a lesser degree, of Japanese ideas, fearing that these will result in not only an economic dominance, which is already evident, but also increased Japanese political interest.

Regional economic and political policies call for more than just application. In this sense Europe has not yet let the chance slip by.

At least it will not do so as long as complaints about the lack of involvement made at the last South-East Asia conference in March this year are not brushed aside dismissively. Business initiative must be shown.

Ewald Stein

(Handelsblatt, 6 July 1984)

■ THE ECONOMY

Bank rate up, but no change in policy

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The Bundesbank, Germany's central bank in Frankfurt, waited until a settlement of the seven-week engineering strike was imminent before deciding to increase bank rate half a point to 4.5 per cent.

The bank did not want to create the impression of meddling in a labour dispute.

Generally, action of this sort is a braking manoeuvre to cool an overheated economy, but that wasn't the bank's intention this time.

There is in fact no reason for braking the economy. Neither inflation nor the course of the economic upswing call for braking the economy.

The Economic Affairs Ministry has reported that both employers and consumers were budgeting more cautiously in view of the strike.

No, the bank rate increase is not a signal for tightening money policies. It is a signal to all deutschemark holders at home and abroad that the Bundesbank is determined to defend the currency.

After the recent increase in US interest rates the deutschemark came under pressure in the United States. High interest rates in America have meant that the dollar is much in demand.

If the dollar gets stronger the second international investment and reserve currency, the deutschemark, will get weaker.

In the weeks of the labour dispute the currency reacted with considerable sensitivity. If the currency's value on foreign exchange markets drops, then the most important reason for investing deutschemarks goes through the window.

The Bundesbank will not and cannot attract money into deutschemarks with high interest rates.

If the bank wants to compete with the Americans for cash seeking good investment opportunities then West German rates must be increased by at least 5.5 per cent. That is how much higher US interest rates are at present.

This would mean the death of the economic upswing that has developed so satisfactorily so far. That will not happen.

The bank must maintain the idea that the deutschemark is liable to be revalued. Only by so doing can West German interest rates be kept at a level that cannot harm the economy.

That is the policy being pursued by the custodians of the currency at the Bundesbank in Frankfurt.

Have they not been false to their own principles by increasing the bank rate? Will not interest rates increase anyway and slow down the economy?

This is not the bank's intention as it has made obvious, for at the same time as the rate decision was made the Bundesbank boosted its loan facilities to banks by DM8bn.

This sounds like occult science, but it is simple. Banks cannot perform magic and carry their will through in every situation.

What is vital for a bank is that it must be able to pay out, be liquid, all the time.

But too much liquidity, as everyone knows who has too much cash at home, curtails interest earnings. The liquidity has to be just right.

Banks must, when required, be able to get cash quickly to meet demands. That is essential when customers have withdrawn cash or when there have been too many transfers and cheques drawn for credit in other financial institutions, and at the same time there have not been enough payments in.

A bank with such settlement deficits calls on the Bundesbank for the cash that is lacking. It is the only institution that can pump money into the banking system.

A bank gets the money needed either by selling some of its assets, say shares, to the Bundesbank or borrows money from it.

In the last instance the bank has recourse to two possibilities of borrowing money, at the rediscount or Lombard rate. If the bank has bills not yet due it goes for the rediscount rate.

At this rate the bank is given the value of the bill less interest due until the repayment is made. Interest is pegged to the bank rate.

The queue of customers at the rediscount counter is not long, for the Bundesbank has set a level for every credit institute that limits the cash available.

Banks pass on the half a point discount interest rate increase to their customers who will give up a little of their profit margin. But that is not so simple.

Those who want to take advantage of the DM8bn of rediscount credit must first of all have the bills. But when they get the new credit it costs less, namely 4.5 per cent, than credit from the money market, for other banks charge 5.5 per cent, the same as the Bundesbank's Lombard rate.

Credit interest rates will not go up, to the disappointment of banks and saving institutions, but to the delight of customers. The Bundesbank has not embarked on a change of course.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 July 1984)

Upturn boosts growth worldwide

DIE WELT

There was an acceleration in the economic upswing among Western industrialised nations in the first half of 1984, according to the HWWA economic research institute, Hamburg.

In its latest economic report the institute said there was a marked upturn not only in the US economy but also in Japan and most industrialised nations in Europe.

The Hamburg economic pundits detected a fast-moving improvement in the US economy which had had an influence on money policies as well as savings.

The expansion in America had caused an import-export boom, benefiting Japan in the main.

The increase in demand had had its effect on the industrialised countries and the developing nations but not enough to ease their foreign debt problems.

The economic upswing had exceeded expections this year, the institute reported.

On average the industrialised nations can count on a real economic growth of 4.5 per cent (last year it was 2.5 per cent), with price increases probably of over five per cent.

dpa/vwd

(Die Welt, 5 July 1984)

1985 Bonn budget
(estimates)
Total outlay: DM 260,2bn

Item	DM bn
Housing	5.3
Agriculture	6.4
Research	7.3
Youth & family affairs	16.1
Debt fund	33.8
Labour & welfare	57.6
Defence	49.3
Transport	25.2
Pensions	10.0
Development aid	6.6
Economic affairs	5.1
Education	4.0
Miscellaneous	33.5

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Bonn budget deficit down again

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg attended final Cabinet talks on the 1985 budget estimates. When he had finished talking to fellow-Ministers there were in the draft significant points of difference.

In his third year in office he has continued to cut government spending and will succeed in making an effective contribution to a reduction in state spending as a part of the gross national product, if nothing untoward happens to the budget in the future.

There will be a 1.2 per cent increase on the 1984 budget, a DM3bn rise on the DM254bn of 1984. The budget for the Nuremberg Labour Office was DM1.5bn down and interest charges were DM500m lower than predicted. The real increase for 1985 is 2.4 per cent and in the long-term that is modest.

Stoltenberg's ambition will be to keep 1985 spending below the budget so that he will have available funds for higher expenditure in 1986, in particular the first stage of tax reforms and higher payments to the EEC.

The Labour Ministry's estimates, at DM57bn the largest single item, was 3.1 per cent lower than in the previous year.

This is due to the influence of the improving labour market and the effect of the economy measures introduced the previous year.

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, 4 July 1984)

Working week: greater flexibility

New ground in wage negotiations was broken with the introduction of the 38.5 hour working week in the printing industry.

What was a spectacular development in the engineering industry has now become a basic feature in a quite different sector, and will soon be taken up elsewhere.

It is not only the reduction of the working week that is of importance: of equal significance is "flexibility" of working hours, which in effect means that the actual time period of a shift is not fixed in an abstract wage negotiation but is geared to production requirements and possibilities of individual companies.

This means that trade union leaders have passed an important part of their authority over to works councils, and the employer can make his own arrangements more satisfactorily.

It is no wonder that employers in the printing industry have welcomed this development. They are forced to make very careful costings not only on account of the tough competition from major companies abroad, particularly in the Netherlands and Italy, but also because of the new technology.

Electronics has made considerable production advances in this sector although the market itself has only expanded to a limited extent.

This situation in the printing industry raises the question what effect will this wage settlement have on the industry's competitive position and on jobs. The agreement, approved by the union rank and file, will undoubtedly increase labour costs by at least four per cent.

Companies will also have to take into account non-productive time caused by flexible work and time worked that has to be made up by additional days off.

The new agreement is to run until 31 March 1987 so that further strife can be expected sooner or later.

The realities are that the agreement will burden medium-sized printing companies and will not create new jobs.

The relief at the ending of the irritating and expensive dispute in the engineering and printing industries can be understood. But the future for the West German economy is made less rosy because of it.

Martin Wein

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 7 July 1984)

■ BUSINESS

Tax write-off companies are expected to survive supreme court ruling

The imminent demise of tax write-off companies has long been forecast. A ruling is shortly due from the Federal Finance Court, Munich. But the trade is confident the balloon will not burst.

In their heyday tax write-off companies raised more money from German investors than new and rights issues on the stock exchange.

Between DM3bn and DM4bn a year was raised from doctors, dentists, lawyers, architects, members of the professions and the self-employed. All were promised a handsome tax write-off to more than offset their cash outlay.

For years the black sheep failed to kill the geese that laid the golden eggs, but eventually the chickens came home to roost.

A Cologne write-off whizz kid, Jochen Erlemann, embezzled clients' cash via bogus company accounts, leaving investors shorn of both their cash and their tax benefits.

He is now on parole from Darmstadt prison, preparing for a new career. It may be in investment, maybe not. No-one knows yet.

Jürgen Amann, another Cologne tax write-off specialist, was able to decamp to Switzerland when his group of companies collapsed. He left behind scores of hapless investors.

DIE WELT

The Cologne public prosecutor's office has just launched proceedings against yet another investment counsellor, Renatus Rüger, who is charged with embezzlement and fraud totalling an estimated DM50m.

Yet investors have failed to learn their lesson. Mesmerised by tax clawback promises, they continue to buy stakes in write-off companies.

Earn a fortune from tax savings, they were told, and the higher the write-off, the more attractive the offer appeared to be, often regardless whether there was any real prospect of ever making a profit.

The scandals have not been alone in taking the wind out of tax write-off investment counsellors' sails. The inland revenue has taken an increasingly dim view of such schemes.

Four years ago the negative capital account, a tax write-off higher than the nominal investment, was abolished as an option, seriously restricting opportunities of investment for tax avoidance purposes.

Exceptions to this ban apply only in West Berlin and shipbuilding, to encourage investment. Tax write-offs of 200 per cent and more are still possible if you invest in housing in Berlin or buy a stake in a new ship.

Or at least, it can still be done unless the Munich court closes this tax-efficient loophole too.

The case on which the Federal Finance Court has to rule is that of a ship that was unable to find a charter for years and made nothing but losses.

That in itself is hardly surprising, given the state of world shipping, but the inland revenue disallowed depreciation allowances because, it argued, there was never any hope of the investment making a profit.

The case has gone from court to court. A ruling on the final appeal is now due. It will be of crucial importance to the tax write-off trade.

The inland revenue says initial losses can only be written off against taxable income if the investment is likely at some stage to net a profit.

The court must now rule on:

- whether a tax write-off firm registered as a GmbH & Co. KG, or a limited partnership in which a limited company holds the sole liability is a private company or a public one, in which case it would be liable to corporation tax;
- whether a GmbH & Co. KG can be regarded as a commercial undertaking;
- whether the limited partner is an active partner;
- and whether this form of company can be regarded as a commercial enterprise when its immediate aim is not to make a profit.

Investors are only likely to have their tax write-offs acknowledged by the inland revenue if the answer is yes in all four instances.

The plaintiff insisted on the Munich hearing being held in camera, so journalists and eagle-eyed representatives of other firms in the business had to leave the courtroom.

Yet the trade has a shrewd enough idea of the likely outcome to be fairly optimistic.

Heinz Gerlach, the publisher of a trade newsletter, *kapital markt-intern*, says the court will almost certainly decide in the plaintiff's favour.

Herr Gerlach has not always been so optimistic. When the case was first referred to the supreme court it looked as though the outcome was likely to go the other way.

He referred in his newsletter to a time-bomb that was ticking away as far as the tax write-off companies were concerned.

Company promoters and investors began to panic. If the court ruled against the plaintiff, thousands of investors in a wide range of similar companies seemed likely to face back tax demands totalling roughly DM500m.

A subsequent ruling was a life-saver. The Munich court decided that the controversial form of company was not liable to corporation tax. Gerlach's newsletter was jubilant.

So was Detlef Brümmer, a Düsseldorf tax write-off specialist who was having trouble in persuading the inland revenue to acknowledge losses in connection with investments in an LPG supertanker.

It was a venture in which investors were promised a tax write-off of 288.5 per cent against capital invested. In other words, per DM100,000 of capital invested they could claim DM288,500 in losses against taxable income.

The tax authorities argue that the prospectus, issued in 1980, admitted there was no market for the tanker.

It said a charter was unlikely until 1987. The tanker is still mothballed. It has yet to earn a single dollar.

Dr Brümmer's investment fund applied to the Munich court for acknowledgement of the tax losses in this case. The appeal was dismissed last February.

So investors in that particular ship will have to wait until the final hearing and must meanwhile pay tax in full on their earnings.

Case law as it stands rules that a company may be considered profit-oriented provided not it but only its partners stand to claw tax back by means of write-off provisions.

But two recent rulings have called this interpretation into question. In 1977 the court ruled in connection with an investment in a ship that the partners could not be deemed to stand any chance of netting a profit.

That was because the partnership was only to last for seven years, during which, all circumstances considered, profits were indeed unlikely.

A similar ruling was given in connection with a tax write-off investment in a film production that had to net about DM25m at the box office in two years to repay interest and capital on the loan raised to launch the production.

Otherwise the rights to the film would be forfeited to the creditors. The court disallowed tax write-offs, saying it would be sheer good luck if this sum was netted, not a realistic likelihood.

Investors in such companies need have no worries if their company accounts have already been checked, which will probably be the case with companies launched in 1980 and 1981.

Investors in schemes launched before the present case was referred to the supreme court can probably sleep easily too. Their tax write-offs may, in certain circumstances, still stand.

Others, but not all investors, can still sue for damages the companies that ran the schemes and the consultants who sold them their stakes.

Damages can only be claimed when the prospectus failed to point out that tax allowances were not an absolute certainty as outlined. They can likewise only be recovered from companies that are solvent.

Leo Fischer

(Die Welt, 3 July 1984)

Gatt round

Continued from page 6

second-largest trading nation. Last year West German exports amounted to DM536bn, a third of the gross national product. American and Japanese exports, on the other hand, are only 10 per cent and 17 per cent of the GNP.

The government predicts that West German exports will increase further in the future. West German exports will be well represented in the steep expansion in world trade that is expected, because of competitive prices and an export structure prepared for the expansion.

The government expressed concern at increasing efforts for protectionism in the USA and points out that there are many import controls protecting the American economy.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 July 1984)

■ WRITING

Unashamed bestseller Lion Feuchtwanger

Novelist Lion Feuchtwanger was born in the last but one decade of last century in a city in the state of Bavaria, Munich. At the height of his career he was 1.65 metres tall and weighed 61 kilograms."

That was Thomas Mann described the "Little Master" in an ironic sketch entitled "The Author about Himself" written in *1935*.

Lion Feuchtwanger, born on 7 July 1884, was a lucky fellow, even when, as from time to time was the case, things went badly for him.

He studied in Munich, graduated with a thesis on Heinrich Heine and took off immediately on a literary career.

He drew attention to himself in 1918 with a play *Jud Süss* (Jew Süss), and achieved international success in 1925 with a novel of the same name.

More than 600,000 copies of the book, dealing with the outsized legend of the financial agent Josef Süss, who financed a Württemberg duke, were sold abroad from 1926 to 1931.

Today its international sales would be more like three million.

The author is not in the tradition of German literature. For him a literary career had a utility value and had to be geared to demand.

Thomas Mann said of his stories that they were solid and entertaining, accessible, enjoyable, relaxing, undemanding and sound in their historical background."

This had not been so in Germany for a long time, and after the Second World War Feuchtwanger was forgotten in West Germany.

Two well-known literary critics maintained that "in exile he lost his power with the language."

They were wrong. Feuchtwanger was oriented towards Anglo-Saxon writers, Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling and Jack London, from whom he learnt how to tell a story simply.

Now, one hundred years after his birth Lion Feuchtwanger has again been restored to the popularity that is due to him.

It began with the novel *Erfolg* (Success), which is now regarded as having relevance to events in the present decade.

Three years in Bavaria describe the political climate of the 1920s in the state, and Bertolt Brecht, Ludwig Thoma, Karl Valentin and Hitler can be recognised, although thinly veiled.

The novel appeared in 1930. Three years later he was an emigré. At first many refugees lived in Sanary-sur-Mer in the south of France.

Paris became a centre of political activities among the militant section of emigré writers. There was also a meeting point in southern France on the Côte d'Azur.

The countryside and the people were attractive. In any event the cost of living in Nice was cheaper than in Paris. Sanary-sur-Mer was "the capital city of German literature".

Many of the books that were produced in the South of France were against Hitler. One of the most important was *Die Geschwister Oppermann* (The Oppermanns).

Written between April and September 1933, its aim was "to let readers know as quickly as possible the true story and the real danger of Nazi tyranny."

Feuchtwanger wanted to influence his readers against Hitler. So he became involved in the Pen Club in exile and was a founder of the magazine *Das Wort*, published in Moscow.

In 1937 he travelled to Moscow and spoke for more than an hour with Stalin, whose purges he later defended.

"It's good to see things like that after all the imperfections of the West, something you can endorse with all your heart," he wrote in *Reisebericht für meine Freunde* (Travel Report for My Friends).

He should not be blamed for this. France and Britain were all too disposed to bury their head in the sand and adopt an I'm all right, Jack attitude.

In France he intensified his work on the function of the historical novel, believing that it should not be linked to the plight of the present, but should allegorically mirror the present.

His strength as a novelist lay in his ability to highlight a historical milieu and the epic development of his characters with regard to their contemporary significance.

Then the German troops arrived and he was interned by the Vichy government in Les Milles, the notorious camp near Aix-en-Provence.

In 1940 he was able to escape, aided by his wife and the journalist Varian Fry, who had come to France on behalf of the Emergency Rescue Committee.

He was sneaked past the controls dressed as a woman. The ERC rescued more than two thousand emigrés between 1940 and 1942, among them the Germans Alfred Döblin, Leonhard Frank and Franz Werfel, and Marc Chagall and Valeriu Marcu.

Thomas Mann had arranged for US citizenship for Lion Feuchtwanger, who was just as successful in America as he had been in Europe.

This was particularly true of *Waffen für Amerika* (Arms for America) and *Goya oder Der arge Weg der Erkenntnis*.

In 1943 he bought a villa on the Pacific, some distance from Los Angeles, which became a meeting place for German emigrés, ten years after Sanary-sur-Mer.

Feuchtwanger was not only a loved but also a generous host. With the means he had available he helped Heinrich Mann, Alfred Döblin and Bertolt Brecht, friends and comrades-in-arms from his Munich days.

He died on 21 December 1958 in a Los Angeles hospital.

Marta Feuchtwanger, married to Lion since 1910, administered his estate. She was a charming and clever woman who held her own as a gallant Grande Dame of contemporary history in a mediocre world.

Those able to visit her (sherry and lobster were normally served), or accompany her to a party in the German

Lion Feuchtwanger

(Photo: Inter...)

community in Los Angeles, could co... themselves as being fortunate.

Feuchtwanger created a litary mo... ment to her in the character of Joha... Krain in *Erfolg*.

She was recently awarded the Hu... manity in the Arts Award by Wa... State University and although she is al... most 100 years old she still looks a... her guests attentively.

She indulges her tortoises with Hi... scus flowers as they lie in the Pacific... where Lion Feuchtwanger and Bre... Brecht celebrated meeting again.

Brecht came out of Vladivostok a... the last ship to the Californian port... San Pedro on 21 July 1941.

Heinz Saueres...

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 6 July 1984)

Erich Mühsam murdered 50 years ago

When the Nazis murdered anarchist writer and poet Erich Mühsam at Oranienburg concentration camp, near Berlin, 50 years ago, he left behind a widely dispersed literary output.

Mühsam's works had been among the first to be consigned to the flames when Nazi students made bonfires of books that were anathema to the Third Reich on 10 May 1933.

As a Jewish intellectual, man of letters, cabaret artist and journalist he was the very opposite of the Nazi ideal.

Yet he could hardly have been more German in so many ways: his sensitivity, his idealism and his obduracy.

He was born in Berlin in 1878 and grew up in Lübeck, where one of his schoolfriends was Gustav Radbruch, who went on to become an SPD leader before and after the Second World War.

He worked as a pharmacist's assistant and a writer. He moved via Berlin to Munich in 1909, where from 1911 to 1914 he edited and published a revolutionary literary monthly, *Kain — Zeitschrift für Menschlichkeit*.

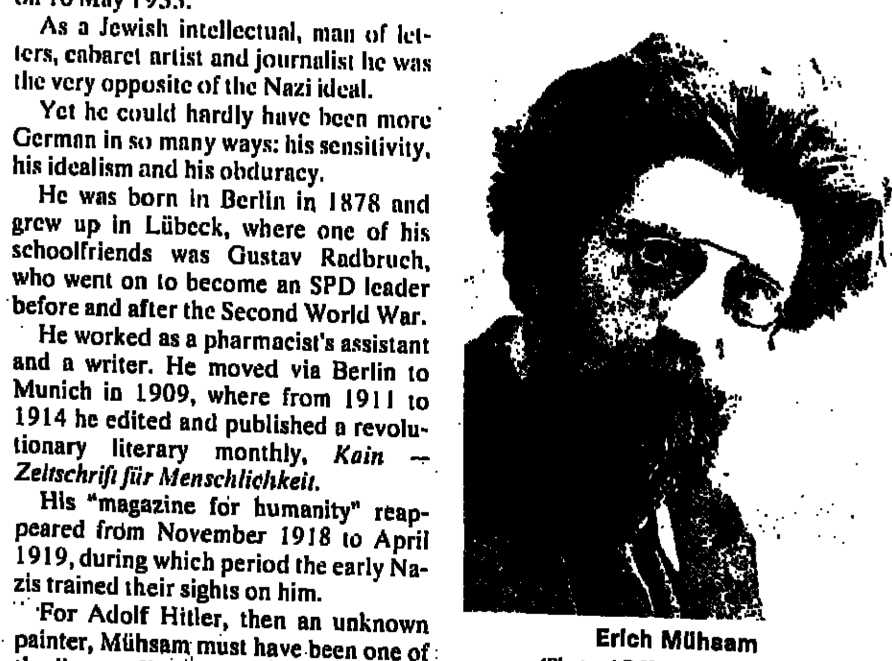
His "magazine for humanity" reappeared from November 1918 to April 1919, during which period the early Nazis trained their sights on him.

For Adolf Hitler, then an unknown painter, Mühsam must have been one of the literary lions of Schwabing, a fashionable area of Munich. Hitler was a failure in Schwabing, which he came to hate and later persecuted.

Mühsam took part in the Munich Soviet Republic, along with writers Gustav Landauer, Ernst Toller, Oskar Maria Graf, Ret Marut (B. Traven), Alfred Wolfenstein, Ernst Niekisch and others. For his part in the uprising he served a prison sentence.

"The depressing fact is," he wrote at 52, "that we ageing writers are condemned to seeing our work gather dust in drawers.

"That is characteristic of the general



Erich Mühsam

(Photo: ADSD/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung)

social conditions of this day and age, with publishers dependent to a far greater extent than in the past on recovering their outlay in each and every case.

"The total inability of our lawmakers of all hues, who are both cause and effect of the unprecedented corruption of public life in its entirety, naturally makes its presence felt in all sectors of production and consumption...

"Never has the intellect been as uninformed as at present: a fact that is merely stated, not condemned, being evidently based on social and historical facts."

Interest in Mühsam since the Seco... World War has been quick to subs... wilting like the flowers occasionally... on his ivy-clad grave.

Collections and reprints of his wo... have mainly been published under a... archist imprints, with one selection b... ing published in the GDR.

"The only basis on which I might b... able to boost my earnings is to dedica... my work to party-political causes, a... that," he wrote, "I am not prepared... do."

That has not prevented him b... posthumously being pressed into s... vice by party-political interests, and th... possibility will persist as long as a c... lected edition of his works is unava... able.

Even when the full range of his wo... is available, political parties can be s... to pick and choose what happens to... them.

On his birth centenary in 1978 We... Berlin publisher Andreas Mytze, ... Verlag Europäische Ideen, said he w... preparing a five-volume, 2,500-pa... collected edition.

Edited by Günther Emig, it cons... of vol. 1, Poems, 736pp., vol. 2, Pla... 459pp., vol. 3, Prose 1, 469pp., vol. ... Prose 2, 430pp., and vol. 5, Miscella... ous Essays, not yet published.

The years of publication of the va... ious volumes convey some idea of th... difficulty of compiling an edition. Th... poems were reset and reissued in 19... following the plays, 1977, and the t... volumes of prose.

His newspaper articles and magazi... essays are, as so often, harder to coll... Originals have been lost. Newspap... and magazines are fly-by-nights and ... able to political interference.

His seven plays, finished and unf... ished, written between 1906 and 19... are here published together for the fi... time. Only *Judas*, 1921 was ...

Continued on page 11

■ THE ARTS

Fassbinder play is accused of anti-Semitism



Ulrich Schwab

(Photo: dpa)

Continued from page 10

...pleted. They are probably not his best work.

Newcomers would do best to start with his *Unpolitical Memoirs* in vol. 4, published in 1931, then to sample his selected essays, 1898-1928.

Ascona, 1905, demonstrates how he ...ed himself from intellectuals and art... although basically he must be said to have failed in the attempt.

Mühsam's fight for justice, which ...vates his entire literary output, can... be followed without sparing a thought for the extent to which the "Liberation of Society from the State" (the subject of a special edition of his magazine *Fanal* published in 1933) is dependent on the liberation of the individual from compulsions and neuroses.

His parody entitled *Psychologie der Erbtante*, 1905, his 1908 essay defending Maximilian Harden in the Moltke-Eulenburg case and his 1926 call for "Justice for Max Hoelz" all testify to this connection.

There cannot be a "free society" with... individual liberation from self-imposed constraints.

In one poem he refers to a *Revoluzzer ...Zivilstand Lampenputzer*, or firebrand revolutionary who in everyday life is a lamp-polisher, and he means us all.

Mühsam believed people were capable of putting to ethical use their innate propensity for cooperation. But in the final analysis everyone looks after his own lamp.

His 907 poems are mainly commentaries on and contradictions of contemporary events. They show striking powers of prediction, and since mutual aid, proclaimed by Mühsam and Kropotkin, has yet to emerge as a mainstay of society, some are still uncannily topical. His last, *Prosit 1932!* warns in vain of the Nazi onslaught.

Mühsam's literary estate is held by the Gorki Institute of World Literature, Moscow. Emig did not have access to ...letters and diaries there.

No-one can say whether they will ever be published, and even if they are, no-one will know what has been left out. That makes the West Berlin edition so important 50 years after Mühsam's death.

Harry Pross

(Die Zeit, 6 July 1984)

Fassbinder's play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* (Garbage, the City and Death) has triggered trouble again in Frankfurt, where the theatre manager Ulrich Schwab has been sacked in connection with the production.

The play is accused of anti-Semitic tendencies, much as it was eight years ago, one of the main characters being a Jewish property speculator and landlord who says, for instance:

"It makes no difference to me whether children cry or the old and sick suffer. Is my soul accountable for decisions reached by others that I merely carry out at the profit I need to be able to afford what I need?

"The city needs the unscrupulous businessman in order to enable it to change. It is up to the city to afford him protection."

Another character says: "He sucks us dry, the Jew. Drinks our blood and puts us in the wrong because he's a Jew and we're to blame."

Yet one wonders, on rereading the play, whether accusations of anti-Semitism might not be meant to conceal or distract attention from something else, perhaps from the real culprits who have ruined the city?

The rich Jew is merely one of many symbolic figures who occur in the 11 melodramatic scenes that make up the play. He is the archetypal property racketeer who despises and destroys people, a textbook capitalist.

"The Jew is an estate agent," Fassbinder wrote in 1976, "and plays his part in changing the face of the city to the detriment of living conditions for city-dwellers.

"He is not to blame for the circumstances in which he goes about his business. He merely makes use of them.

"The place where such circumstances can be observed is Frankfurt am Main." He quoted Robert Neumann as saying that philo-Semites were anti-Semites who loved the Jews.

Fassbinder's play, open to misunderstanding by the people it affects, is based on Gerhard Zwerenz's Frankfurt novel *Die Erde ist unbewohnbar wie der Mond* which prompted a similar dispute in 1973 because it includes a property speculator by the name of Abraham.

Psychologist Ernest Borneman put the dilemma as follows: "In the choice between speaking out and keeping quiet, keeping quiet means saying nothing about injustice, whereas speaking out inevitably foments prejudice against a minority."

The present dispute likewise diverts attention from the reality of the controversial play, which was Fassbinder's reaction to Frankfurt. He was disappointed by the city and by the corruption of relations between people who lived there, and voiced his disappointment on an exaggerated note of horror.

Violence, perversion and the impossibility of love are sketched out in the raw. The characters are living dead.

They include Roma B., a prostitute, and Franz B., her pimp, the little prince and Roma's father, a transvestite and a fascist, Kraus, Peter and the dwarf, the rich Jew and the police chief.

Coldness, loneliness, lovelessness and anxiety make them creep toward each other and lead to sexual and commercial perversion.

"This work of literature," wrote writer Jean Améry, who emigrated as a Jew in 1938 and was sent to concentration camp by the Nazis, "would not be worth bothering with were it not for the figure of the Rich Jew as an anti-hero."

Is it an anti-Semitic play? Not really. Fassbinder's rich Jew is portrayed in less tendentious terms than Shakespeare's Shylock or Marlowe's Jew of Malta or Hauff's Jew Süss.

Fassbinder is clearly not an anti-Semite. He is merely a poor dramatist (at least where *this* play is concerned) and, crucially in the circumstances, a man bereft of psychology, unphilosophical and unhistorical.

Could it be that this dead-beat milieu of pimps and whores, queers and transvestites, thugs and police officers who cover up murders provides a pretext for accusations of anti-Semitism because keeping quiet is expedient?

Is injustice to be played down? Did the ruling party in Frankfurt, its mayors and the municipal administration not just tolerate speculation and destruction but "encourage it with energetic backing from the leading banks, who were also engaged in speculation," as Walter Boehlich has claimed?

Is it not reasonable to assume that a number of people concerned welcome the opportunity of accusing the play of anti-Semitism as a minor matter but one that appeals to their basest prejudice when they read the play (always assuming they do so)?



Rainer Werner Fassbinder

(Photo: Patrick La Blanca)

Ulrich Schwab, the Frankfurt theatre manager sacked in connection with the production, may not have been as committed to Fassbinder's play as he claimed but merely keen to wage a private war.

The director, Knut Boeser, who is soon to take over at the Renaissance-Theater in West Berlin, may have chosen Fassbinder's play to make himself more widely-known.

So cynicism and opportunism can be seen to be involved on all sides.

Jürgen Holwein

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 July 1984)

James Joyce buffs confer in Frankfurt

Frankfurt as the venue of a James Joyce symposium was a Mecca for Joyce fans from all over the world.

Writers, professors, ordinary people and famous names, all came who were interested in the Irish "universal experimenter," as he was called by Walter Höllerer.

Peter Bichsel said that James Joyce had produced his "work of words" under pressure of enormous suffering.

Finnegan's Wake is a work written against the background of his daughter's madness and to this day presents a problem to those who wish to come to terms with its meaning.

Joyce's masterpiece *Ulysses* (1932) is the authentic "modernistic book," according to Jacques Derrida of Paris.

A leading French philosopher, he maintained in a lecture that lasted several hours that Joyce tried to find a second language. What seems to us to be reality is on closer examination groundless.

There is no meaning in Joyce's language world, the search is all-important.

There was considerable uncertainty among the 400 participants at the Frankfurt University symposium, many from the English-speaking world, who wanted to dissect Joyce but came away empty-handed.

Klaus Reichert, who organised the symposium, said that the playful element in Joyce's works had not been given enough attention.

He was not earnest all the time. Liberating laughter could be heard, as presented by Hugh Kenner, the supreme expert on the "Joyce puzzle."

Joyce has influenced, and influences, modern authors including Samuel Beckett, Arno Schmidt, Christa Wolf, Uwe Johnson and a few German writers who described the influence Joyce had had on them in an evening session. Dieter Kühn called Joyce a "a breathtaking model" whose playful usage with abstractions was a challenge.

For Peter Bichsel Joyce is a man who, in the battle with life could only turn to language, which explained the extreme obscurities of his later work.

Joyce "cohabited" with the lanugage and taught us how to read differently, even when we did not understand, or did not understand him fully.

Hans Christoph Buch took up a different attitude, saying that Joyce had "survived" because he was almost blind.

His language difficulties have been attributed to his semi-blindness, which made him acutely, perhaps uniquely, sensitive to the aural affinities of words, leading him to impart a new dimension to language.

The hectic programme of the symposium was some indication of the keen interest there is today in James Joyce from a literary, psychoanalytical and linguistic point of view.

Joyce is widely read and new significant meanings were being found in his work.

The well-known Joyce researcher Fritz Senn from Zürich presented an interesting lecture comparing *Ulysses* with Homer's *Iliad*.

Wolfgang Hildesheimer presented a most interesting lecture on the identity crisis of the anti-hero Leopold Bloom, a crisis that represents the crisis experienced today. The converted Jew, at home nowhere, bore his destiny with dignity.

Although the first text of *Ulysses*, subjected to intense scrutiny, was available in Frankfurt at a cost of $200, James Joyce is far from becoming just a monument.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Mannheimer Morgen, 30 June 1984)

■ ENVIRONMENT

'Lead-free' Zimmermann falters on plans for vehicle emission controls

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann said just over a year ago that the Greens were "starry-eyed" in calling on Bonn to go it alone if need be in introducing unleaded petrol.

Soon afterward he too advocated going it alone. In his latest bid for a tax rebate on new cars fitted with catalytic converters his Cabinet colleagues voiced "economic policy misgivings."

That may not sound as crushing as starry-eyed, but basically the two comments have much in common. They indicate that such demands are not keeping with government policy.

Herr Zimmermann is now gaining an insight into environment problems from the unaccustomed viewpoint of a politician for whom headway cannot be made fast enough.

He is unlikely merely to be simulating impatience in a bid to impress voters. Too much is at stake for him for that. He needs successes for credibility and to shake off the label of being all talk the Opposition has pinned on him.

Finance Minister Stoltenberg has spiked his guns for the time being. Temporary road tax exemption for pollution-controlled models is a partial victory, but the decision on VAT rebate on the purchase price of new cars has been postponed until September.

Subsidies to buyers of new cars with catalytic converters are clearly not the last or best word on the subject.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

They would just be yet more subsidies, and industry would be tempted simply to pocket the proceeds and not conduct further research.

But there is no reason why subsidies ought not to be tried as an experiment, especially with billions in subsidies being handed out to farmers.

As weight is distributed in the Bonn budget there are no signs of progress worth mentioning toward environmental protection.

Is that in keeping with what Herr Zimmermann at the Munich multilateral environment conference called second in order of importance only to safeguarding peace?

Next to no-one is disputing that little short of superhuman efforts will succeed in averting imminent catastrophe.

Last year 2.5 million hectares of woodland were pollution-damaged, or about 34 per cent of the total forest acreage. This year the figure is expected to increase to 50 per cent.

So damage is increasing by leaps and bounds, and not just in nature. Historic buildings have shown more serious signs of decay in the past three decades than over the past three centuries.

In contrast with the pace of destruction, many people are proving extremely slow to grasp the fact and change their minds on the subject.

Absolute priority is still felt to be enjoyed by economic considerations, regardless of the cost (and the cost is high).

Oddly enough, those who see themselves as pragmatists fail to make the slightest comparison between momentary gain and, in some cases, irreparable loss.

Leading industrialised countries such as Britain, France and Italy saw the situation by no means as drastically as the Germans at the Munich conference.

In this company Herr Zimmermann looks like a militant ecologist. He certainly went out on a limb in threatening to go it alone, given the general lack of interest.

This point is shown by the climb-down he has now had to make. Yet if bids such as his were not attempted, even less headway would be made in the EEC.

The only basis on which Bonn could still pioneer the fight against toxins in car exhaust fumes is with reference to Article 36 of the Treaty of Rome.

This provision entitles member-countries to set aside Common Market guidelines in the event of a health hazard or threat to flora and fauna.

Herr Zimmermann's state secretary, Carl-Dieter Spranger, has urgently warned EEC partners in particular that toxins from industrial smokestacks and car exhausts are a health hazard via the air we breathe.

There are ample indications of health being hit by atmospheric pollution. But ought Bonn to risk being taken to the European Court of Justice?

The Federal Republic of Germany, after all, a country in the heart of Europe that is literally dependent on g... links with its neighbours.

Even those who are prepared to risk clash will be unable to prevent toxi... blown over from other countries fr... "blowing in the wind."

So there are many signs that a European arrangement would be preferabl... But Europe is not like America, wher... legislation on unleaded petrol is bindin... on an entire continent.

In Europe, as we all know only to well, progress is at the pace of the slowest.

Motor manufacturers, who are ke... on a European solution, give rise to su... spicions of being less keen on uniform provisions from Denmark to Sicily tha... on conversion at as measured a pace a... possible.

The technical and organisational pre... conditions for dealing with pollution ex... ist, both with and without catalytic converters. To play the European card at this juncture is to play for time.

Motor manufacturers are pursuing the same strategy as power utilities a ye... ar ago when they campaigned again... static emission proposals.

Their struggle not to have to die... down is part of the fight for more strin... gent restrictions on toxins.

Desulphurising smokestacks has be... come big business, generating new jobs. Why shouldn't low-pollution cars hav... the same effect?

Herr Zimmermann could get his way by decree. What he now needs is the Chancellor's unfailing support.

But no-one know what the environ... ment is really worth to the Chancello... Is it more than lip service?

Michael Brandt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 July 1984)





Bonn defers decision on tax rebate for catalyst cars

The Bonn Cabinet has deferred until September a final decision on the details of financial backing for pollution-controlled cars.

At a Cabinet meeting held on the eve of the summer recess to discuss the 1985 budget estimates Finance Minister Stoltenberg and the Economic Affairs Minister opposed direct subsidies for buyers of cars fitted with catalytic converters.

But Interior Minister Zimmermann made headway in at least one respect in his bid to ensure financial incentives to buy pollution-controlled cars.

The Ministries concerned, with Herr Stoltenberg in the chair, have been entrusted by the Cabinet with considering whether straight subsidies might not be a suitable course of action for a transitional period.

This review is to be undertaken in the context of whether tax incentives agreed to date are enough to boost sales of low-pollution cars.

The Cabinet agreed on 3 July that road tax on cars with catalytic converters was to be waived for between five and seven years from July next year, depending on engine size.

Road tax on conventional cars is to be increased in 1986 from DM14.40 to DM18 per 100cc.

The higher cost of manufacturing unleaded petrol, which is essential for cars with catalytic converters, is to be offset by reducing oil duty on unleaded petrol by one pfennig per litre and increasing duty on leaded petrol by two pfennigs.

Catalytic converter cars of up to 1,500cc are to be exempted from road tax for seven years. For models of up to 2,500cc the period will be six years and for larger models five years.

Are further financial incentives needed? This issue is to be discussed with the *Länder* and with the EEC Commission.

In talks with the *Länder* the Federal government is to discuss whether a further incentive might be provided by penalising conventional motorists even more via road tax, the revenue from which goes to the *Länder*.

Herr Zimmermann's plan for a tax rebate for buyers of pollution-controlled cars is particularly controversial. He envisages financing it via an increase in oil duty, but the chief objection is that it would be yet another straight subsidy.

It would also set a precedent in that the state would be subsidising the purchase of consumer goods. The Economic Affairs and Finance Ministers were fully agreed in rejecting the idea on this count.

The new Economic Affairs Minister, Herr Bangemann, is said to have raised further objections to a direct subsidy. But the impression in Bonn is that his

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■ HEALTH

Suicide: all hints must be taken seriously, West Berlin conference is told

Direct or indirect references to suicide are always a danger signal, ...ctors were told at an in-service training course in West Berlin.

It is just not true to feel that people ...o talk about suicide are not going to ...it.

Typical authentic pre-suicide com...ents noted in an American survey are: "...'s simply gotten too much for me," "If ...y it were all over," "No-one cares ...ut me," "I've have enough; I'm going ...call it a day," "It'll be best to end it" and "I shan't need anything any ...ger."

Anyone who hears friends or rel...ions, patients or clients make com...ents such as these should be warned. ...ar-of-kin recalled them being made ...suicides, a US survey says.

Suicide comes thirteenth in the list of ...ath causes. It needn't if only every...e, and not just doctors, psychologists, ...cial workers and teachers, was more ...tentive, understanding and helpful.

Hints on preventing suicide were giv...n at the Berlin training course. The ...y point is that statements of intent ...to be taken in deadly earnest.

Professor Walter Pöldinger of Wil, ...itzerland, said it was disheartening ...at even doctors, including psychia...sts, and let alone laymen still held the ...staken view that talk meant no action. People ought really to be able to im...e how would-be suicides feel. Anyone could suffer from heartbreak of one kind or another and contemplate suicide, he said.

Examples of such critical junctures in life were the death of nearest and dearest, the shock of retirement and other losses such as separation or the children leaving home.

Those who are unable to come to terms with such situations may well feel morbid and tend to consider suicide.

Nine out of 10 suicides are a reaction by people with suitable inclinations to corresponding events in life, said Bernhard Wehde.

He is a member of a crisis team at Heidelberg University Hospital that is attached to both the intensive care and psychiatric wards.

Considered suicide, based on a decision reached after weighing up the options, is very much the exception, suicide researchers agree. The overwhelming majority don't really want to die. They just don't want to carry on living as they are and need help.

Most transmit non-stop SOSs, Professor Pöldinger said, but all too often there was either no reaction or people were worried but helpless, and at times even resentful.

Even the Roman Catholic Church no longer imposes sanctions such as refusing suicides a Christian burial, but the term suicide continues to imply a reproach. The accusing finger is the last thing would-be suicides need.

It is just as dangerous to make light of a desire for death or an attempted suicide. Dr Ulrike Rothbarth-Heim of the Heidelberg crisis team said many patients tended to make light of suicide bids when in hospital.

Relatives similarly encouraged them to brush conflicts under the carpet. Yet it was important, and arguably a lifesaver, to keep the crisis open and gradually work at it to prevent a further suicide bid.

Suicide is the foremost cause of death among people who have previously attempted it.

According to various surveys cited by Professor Pöldinger 80 per cent of would-be suicides were still alive 10 or 20 years after their suicide attempt or had died a natural death.

But 8 to 12 per cent had done it again and succeeded (and the same percentage could no longer be traced).

Deep depression and resignation, alcohol and drug addiction, loneliness, incurable diseases and family upsets are some of the prime suicide risk factors.

But as people who have already attempted suicide are the highest risk of all, prevention must concentrate on them.

At some hospitals up to 20 per cent of the intake were attempted suicides, said Dr Christoph Kulessa of Heidelberg. Yet patients were still sent straight home without further attention after emergency treatment, the congress was told.

Many are ashamed of themselves and don't want their family doctors to be notified. If they are left to their own devices, their next attempt can succeed the moment they are discharged.

The most important point is to establish a strong and lasting relationship with a family doctor or clergyman, therapist at an advice centre or friend or relation.

It hardly mattered what job these people had, Professor Pöldinger said. They merely had to be able to sympathise with someone in a state of anguish and mental crisis and not to paper over the crisis, talking to people about their suicide plans instead.

That, said Rolf Langendörfer, a Protestant chaplain at Heidelberg University Hospital, saved people the trouble of having to refer to the problem themselves and relieved them of one of their burdens. The Heidelberg facility has evidently proved effective.

Similar crisis relief centres have been set up at other hospitals. In West Berlin they exist at Steglitz University Hospital and Kreuzberg General Hospital.

The Kreuzberg centre was set up in 1977 on Dutch lines, said Dr Michael Lindner.

About 3,000 patients had been treated. Half were referred to the centre after suicide bids. Roughly 70 per cent were discharged after four or five days of intensive individual and group discussions they agreed to have been a great help.

Other crisis stations are shortly to be set up in other Berlin boroughs: at Neukölln Municipal Hospital in July, for instance, where round-the-clock service is to be maintained.

Rosemarie Stein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 28 June 1984)

Euthanasia: doctor is cleared but only on merits of case

In a euthanasia case the Federal Supreme Court, Karlsruhe, has ruled in favour of a doctor who gave no further medical assistance to an unconscious 76-year-old woman patient who wanted to die.

But the acquittal was based on the special nature of the case. In principle the court still feels aiding and abetting suicide is an offence.

A Krefeld court acquitted the doctor last September. He was charged with homicide on request and with failing to provide (medical) assistance.

The accused was the family doctor of a 76-year-old woman suffering from a variety of complaints who grew tired of life after her husband's death.

She had notified the GP in writing that if here life were in danger she preferred not to be sent to hospital and was opposed to life support measures.

One day when the doctor was due to call, she took an overdose of sleeping pills and morphium. He found her unconscious with a note in her hand saying: "To the doctor. No hospital, please. Deliverance."

Her pulse no longer beat and her breathing was poor and erratic. He was convinced her life could no longer be saved and, if it was, then she would never fully recover. This being so, he did nothing, choosing to wait in the patient's home until she died.

The Krefeld court held that the doctor was not guilty because an offence was not as a rule committed when a doctor refrained from life support measures out of respect for a patient's desire to die.

The Supreme Court disagreed, but upheld the acquittal. Being an accessory to suicide was not an offence but actively assisting someone to commit suicide was still punishable.

Active assistance could be said to occur when the suicide was unconscious and no longer able to reconsider, leaving the doctor alone in a position to take remedial action. He was under a special legal obligation to prolong the patient's life.

So the Supreme Court upheld the view that it is immaterial whether a patient wants to die. The doctor is still obliged to save his life if he can.

The acquittal in this instance was because it was a borderline case. The doctor's obligation to save his patient's life clashed with the patient's express desire to die.

The court found that he had not acted reprehensibly in deciding not to send the patient to hospital, which was an idea she had abhorred and where her life was unlikely to have been saved.

Presiding judge Hans Wolfgang Schmidt said: "The doctor may bear in mind that there is no legal obligation to prolong at any price a life that is drawing to its close.

"Treatment must be governed not by the efficiency of medical apparatus but by respect for life and human dignity in the individual instance."

Ursula Knapp

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 July 1974)

■ FLASHBACK

How Hitler got rid of the SA half a century ago

Half a century ago, on 28 June 1934, Hitler, Göring and Goebbels were in Essen for the wedding of Gauleiter Josef Terboven. It was the eve of the Röhm putsch, which clinched the power struggle between the Reichswehr and the SA that had been going on for months.

Why did Hitler visit Essen at such a crucial moment in his career and the history of the Third Reich? Gauleiter Terboven was nowhere near important enough in the Nazi hierarchy to warrant the Führer leaving Berlin at this stage of the struggle.

Did Hitler aim to create the impression of absolute peace and quiet so as



SA leader Ernst Röhm

(Photo: dpa)

not to warn the traitors, as Nazi propaganda later proclaimed?

Or did the Führer leave Berlin to escape from the pressure on him to oust the SA leader, Ernst Röhm, a personal friend since the early days of the Nazi movement?

This pressure was exerted by Göring, Himmler of the SS and Heydrich of the Gestapo in league, for once, with Reichswehr generals Blomberg and Reichenau.

So why did Hitler visit Essen? No-one knows for sure. Historians still disagree. All that is sure is that the decision to eliminate Röhm was reached in Essen on 28 June.

Röhm's rival Viktor Lutze, SA leader in Hanover, who was in Essen for the gauleiter's wedding reception, wrote this in his diary:

"I had a feeling that certain circles were keen to intensify the business and get on with it while the Führer was away from Berlin and unable to supervise events personally other than by telephone liaison."

The 30 June 1934 putsch was preceded by months of intrigue within party and government:

- Göring was keen to settle old scores with Röhm;
- Himmler wanted to free his SS from the SA's apron strings;
- Heydrich and the Gestapo mistrusted the SA;
- So did the Reichswehr, which was determined to remain the country's only army.

They joined forces to systematically isolate the SA leaders, which wasn't difficult inasmuch as the SA's plans to set up as a militia provided a splendid pretext for action against it.

From spring 1934 there was talk in the SA of a "second revolution." The SA brownshirts numbered over three million but no longer had a role to play under the new regime.

Yet before the Nazis came to power in 1933 they had borne the main burden of the struggle, as SA leader Ernst Röhm put it.

Local SA leaders such as Karl Ernst, a Dortmund baker, Edmund Heines, a Breslau killer, and others of their calibre were on standby to take over key roles in a new-look Reichswehr.

They confidently expected Röhm to promote them to senior jobs in the regular army once he had taken over as Reichswehr Minister and the SA had laid the groundwork for a new and large-scale German people's army.

Röhm was only Minister without Portfolio but made no bones about his ambition to replace General Werner von Blomberg as Reichswehr Minister.

His idea of a people's army or militia was for the SA to form the basis of the new army and the Reichswehr to form part of it, just as the Stahlhelm units had been merged with the SA.

This idea was bound to encounter determined resistance by the Reichswehr generals, who were prepared to accept SA men as recruits but had no intention of sharing arms with any kind of militia.

Hitler was still dependent on the Reichswehr. It had accepted the Nazi take-over, and men such as Reichenau and Blomberg sympathised with what the Nazis called the national revolution.

But the Reichswehr had not yet been coordinated, as the Nazis called it (purged would be a more accurate term), and it held the key to power in the Reich.

It owed allegiance to the aged President, Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, and was still a threat to Nazi rule, which had yet to be consolidated.

Hindenburg was largely inactivated by illness in June 1934. He left Berlin for his East Prussian estate, Neudeck, at the beginning of the month.

No-one expected him ever to return. Hitler's aim was to combine the posts of Reich Chancellor and Reich President once Hindenburg died, but he needed Reichswehr backing if his plan was to succeed.

Hitler visited Hindenburg in Neudeck on 21 June, ostensibly to brief the head of state on his meeting with Mussolini but doubtless also to test the authority of the ailing President. Blomberg was there too and told him there was an urgent need to restore domestic peace and no room in the new Germany for radicals. That was a clear warning to Hitler to put paid to the activities of Röhm and his SA cronies. Himmler and Heydrich made common cause with Major-General von Reichenau and prepared well for the putsch.

For months Heydrich had spied on the SA leaders. He had "secret orders" purporting to be SA coup plans forged and leaked to the Reichswehr Ministry, where Reichenau and Blomberg took them at face value.

Records were kept of all expressions of dissatisfaction at meetings of SA leaders.

Viktor Lutze, who was later made SA chief of staff, briefed Hitler and Reichenau on comments by Röhm after a meeting between SA and Reichswehr leaders on 28 February 1934.

Hitler had sought to reach a compromise between them at this meeting, but Röhm was alleged to have said:

"What the figure-of-fun corporal had to say doesn't hold good for us. If we can't achieve our aim with Hitler, then it will have to be without him."

Lutze felt these words amounted to high treason.

At Terboven's wedding reception in Essen Hitler took an urgent phone call from Himmler in Berlin who told him a putsch by Röhm was imminent.

Hitler left the reception with his entourage and withdrew to his suite at the Kaiserhof Hotel, where Lutze noted in his diary:

"Here at his room in the Kaiserhof the Führer's telephone was constantly ringing. He thought it over hard but seems to have been clear he now had to act."

The first moves were made from the Essen hotel. Hitler sent Göring back to Berlin with orders to launch counter-measures as soon as he was given the code-word.

He rang Röhm ordering him to hold a conference of SA leaders in Bad Wiessee, Bavaria, on the morning of 30 June.

The SA leaders felt this meant there were fresh hopes of coming to terms with Hitler. In reality it was to make it easier to liquidate the handpicked victims.

The next day, while Hitler was touring Reichsarbeitsdienst camps in Westphalia, special SS units were given orders.

Sepp Dietrich, commander of Hitler's SS bodyguard, was ordered to be at the Führer's hotel in Bad Godesberg that evening.

With Reichswehr backing and equipment Dietrich and two companies of the SS were to carry out the purge in Bad Wiessee and Munich.

That night Hitler and his aides flew from Bonn to Munich, where his Ju landed at 4 a.m. He first dealt with Munich SA leaders Schmid and Schneidhuber.

Then he drove to Bad Wiessee, arrested Röhm and other SA leaders at their hotel and had them sent to Stadelheim jail, Munich. Six of them were shot the same day.

Röhm was given a few hours' grace but he too was shot on 1 July after refusing to commit suicide. His killers were Eicke and Lippert, the commanders of Dachau concentration camp.

Himmler and Göring handled the purge in Berlin, where their victims included both SA leaders and conservative and Christian critics and opponents of the regime.

They included General von Schleicher and his wife, General von Bredow, leading Roman Catholic official Klausener, the former Nazi leader Gregor Strasser, who had fallen out with the Führer in December 1932, and many others.

The Reich Cabinet, including conservative Ministers, approved on 3 July 1934 a single-sentence law legalising the Röhm purge in retrospect. It read:

"The measures undertaken on 30 June and 1 and 2 July to crush treasonable and high treason attacks were legal self-defence by the state."

Hans-Georg Glaser

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 29 June 1984)



All smiles: Hitler and Reichswehr General Blomberg

(Photo: Archiv Hans-Georg G

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resistance could wilt in the further course of deliberations.

He is a Free Democrat, and Foreign Minister Genscher and many other members of the FDP parliamentary party are inclined to support the idea of subsidising pollution-controlled cars.

CSU Ministers, who include Herr Zimmermann, are already uniformly in favour of the proposal. CSU Transport Minister Dollinger initially shared the view held by Stoltenberg and Lambsdorff but now endorses the subsidy proposal.

The Motor Manufacturers' Association, Frankfurt, feels the Cabinet has clarified the situation inasmuch as motorists will in future have a choice between conventional cars and models equipped with more expensive pollution control systems.

This is said to follow from the legal situation in the EEC, where member-countries are not entitled to prohibit the sale or use of either imported or home-made cars that comply with Common Market requirements.

That means that all cars now on the roads and yet to be bought can be used beyond 1986.

The motor industry will fulfill its undertaking to the Federal government and market a wide range of low-pollution models from 1986 in anticipation of the regulations envisaged in the EEC from 1989.

It will do so regardless of the nature and extent of tax incentives provided by Bonn and under no legal compulsion whatever, the Frankfurt association states.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 July 1984)

■ CRIME

Offences against children: most go unreported

Bremer Nachrichten

There were 3,413 sentences in 1982 for criminal offences involving children, according to the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

Statistics show that 2,140 involved abuse of children, 66 child rape, 15 murder, 17 second-degree murder, 37 death by negligence (excluding traffic accidents), 509 bodily harm, 288 grievous bodily harm and 205 cruelty to a child.

Dr Reiner Frank of the Munich Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry says only ... per cent of cases are punished by the courts.

In nine cases out of ten the offenders go unpunished because their offences against children are not brought to light and they are not taken to court.

The most endangered children are in families under social pressure, such as unemployment and housing problems, single-parent families, premature and handicapped children.

Dr Frank demands tangible help for families where children are mistreated due to social pressures.

These families, he says, should receive both financial support and a system of home-helpers be set up to assist them.

What is of most importance, he says, is for families to be assisted before children are maltreated.

Dr Frank points out that the Crime Squad emphasises the value of preventive measures. In cases of social hardship the basic principle should be "aid before punishment."

On the basis of cases that can be examined Dr Frank reports that in cases concerning the maltreatment of children doctors react in very different ways.

Frau Meier visited the doctor with her two-month-old baby. She said: "Since yesterday he has had a swelling on his upper thigh." The doctor asked what could have caused it. She replied: "I don't know, it came so suddenly."

The doctor X-rayed the leg and found a fracture. He treated it and sent her and her child home.

Another doctor also confirmed the fracture and treated it, but regarded it as surprising. He made a further examination of the child and discovered lacerations at both corners of the mouth and yellowish marks on the back.

He sent the mother home. Then he rang the police, for in his view the child was in danger. Obviously it had been maltreated. The police, the doctor believed, should do their duty.

A third doctor learned that the infant had been six weeks in a clinic. It was premature. Frau Meier had only taken him home two weeks earlier. When examined the child was below the normal weight.

The doctor asked Mrs Meier to come back to his surgery the next day. He could see that he had to deal with a case of child maltreatment but he did not want to notify the police.

After examining the child a fourth doctor asked Frau Meier how she was. She said that in the two weeks the baby had been at home she had not slept. Her friend, the father of the child, wanted to leave her.

He did not give her anything toward the housekeeping. She did not know how she would get by. The child was getting her down. She was at the end of her tether.

The doctor said that something would be done immediately for her and the child. On her behalf he rang up the youth affairs office and he had the child put in a children's hospital.

Dr Frank said the mistreatment of the child would happen again after the first doctor's handling of the case.

The second doctor called in the police whose legal duty was to investigate to establish if a criminal offence had taken place.

The public prosecutor would be involved. A trial and punishment would result.

"All this means increased stress for the family — and revives the danger of maltreatment for the child."

The third doctor brought a social worker into the case who called on a family court judge. He ordered that the child should be put in a children's home.

The fourth found safety for the child. "He understood, however, that something had to be done for the other members of the family." This doctor saw the complexity of the case and acted accordingly.

Dr Frank recommends a whole series of measures which are used by the children's ward of Munich University Hospital in cases of child maltreatment.

When there is a suspicion of maltreatment, the very slightest of injury, the child is brought into the hospital. The hospital's social worker is notified.

A medical history is drawn up not only for the doctor but also for the social worker.

In this history are included details of the family income, living conditions and relations between the family members and with the neighbours.

A case conference is called involving doctors, social workers, a representative of the police and a lawyer. Aid measures are discussed.

Beforehand the parents are asked to give their permission for such a conference, then the parents are told about the injuries to the child and the various aspects of the problem. Together with the parents a plan for handling the case is worked out.

The child is only allowed to leave the clinic when it is made clear who is to be *responsible for the child and the family*, when the next consultation is to take place and when it is established where the child will go after being discharged.

Dr Frank says there is a whole range of possibilities for preventing and dealing with maltreatment of children, possibilities that call for sympathy and understanding, but also money.

"We can invest something in the well-being of our children. But this is a political decision."

(Bremer Nachrichten, 30 June 1984)

Rape victims counselled in Hanover

Statistics show that last year 6,763 women were raped, but this is only the tip of the iceberg, says sociologist Rena Pavenstaedt.

The true number, including cases that are not reported, is something like five times as much. "Most women," she says, "do not report the rape, either from anxiety or shame."

Rena Pavenstaedt is a member of the Police/Social Worker Prevention Programme, the only one of its kind in Europe, supported by the *Land* of Lower Saxony, and from an organisational point of view linked to the police in only one way.

The group is given financial and moral support by the *Weisser Ring*, an organisation to help victims of crime. It stands between the police and the victim.

The group has been in operation for five years and can report considerable success. A good third of all rape victims in Hanover have attended the group regularly for advice and assistance in overcoming the experience.

Sociologists have established that about thirty per cent of sexual offenders come from the victim's immediate circle, a friend of a brother, a previous acquaintance or a fiancé.

Most rapes take place in the victim's home, in almost ten per cent of cases the rapist attracted the women into his office or flat.

In most cases the women had not acted in a provocative manner or been dressed provocatively.

Rena Pavenstaedt's group is not content with analysis. Every week there is a group meeting attended by psychologists, lawyers and public prosecutors. They give the women encouragement.

In groups and in individual interviews they are briefed on court cases in which they will be involved.

They learn from one another to come to terms with the criminal and to learn that there are only a few men who are like their attacker.

As the law stands at the present it is not possible to spare a woman from having to give evidence in public before the court.

Women say the fear of being murdered is worse than the rape itself. "For months afterwards we could feel the rapist's powerful grip round the throat or the revolver in the back."

The result is a never-ending sense of anxiety. A woman would not dare to venture out among people. More than 75 per cent of women have to find another flat.

Ten per cent of rape victims are so severely disturbed that they have to have psychological treatment, and some women have to go to a sanatorium for long periods.

Rena Pavenstaedt's group is determined to bring down the number of unreported cases. Victims can only hope to get assistance from sociologists if the police are involved.

The group was founded five years ago by former Justice Minister Professor Hans-Dieter Schwind, who came across a similar group in Chicago.

At first the group worked under the Social Affairs Ministry, but since December last year the group has been associated with the Interior Ministry.

Ewald Revermann

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 23 June 1984)

RAF urban terrorists: six held

Left-wing terrorism in West Germany has been further weakened by the arrest of six alleged sympathisers or members of the Red Army Fraction (RAF).

But 18 months after RAF leaders Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Adelheid Schulz and Christian Klar were captured hard-core members Silke Maier-Witt, Ralf Baptist Friedrich, Werner Bernhard Lotze, Susanne Albrecht and Inge Viett are still at large.

Several of the six arrested in Bornheim, a Frankfurt suburb, are alleged terrorists who have been on the Crime Squad and Prosecutor's office wanted list for years.

In the Frankfurt flat where they were arrested hand weapons, a hand grenade and identity cards were found.

According to Chief Public Prosecutor Rebmann Ingrid Jakobsmeier was involved in a bank robbery with Klar and Mohnhaupt in Bochum on 15 September 1982.

A few weeks ago Manuela Happe, 28, was arrested in Deizisau, near Esslingen. She is suspected of having taken part in the murder of two police officers and is believed to be a member of the RAF.

From spring 1977 until autumn 1981 the terrorists were responsible for a series of crimes including murder, explosions and bank robberies.

In April 1977 they shot and killed Chief Public Prosecutor Siegfried Buback and a person with him. At the end of July that year they killed the banker Jürgen Ponto just after netting half a million deutschemarks in an Essen bank robbery.

At the end of August a rocket attack on the Public Prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe did not come off. In September 1977 they kidnapped the president of the employers association, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, killing his bodyguards.

In the middle of October the RAF hijacked a Lufthansa plane to Mogadishu, Somalia. Schleyer was murdered after the passengers and crew were freed.

Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof and Jan-Carl Raspe all committed suicide in Stuttgart's Stammheim prison. In November 1977 the RAF kidnapped an Austrian industrialist in Vienna.

Till Meyer escaped from prison in 1978. In November the same year two Dutch customs officers were killed. At the end of June 1979 a bomb attack was made on Nato commander General Alexander Haig in Belgium.

In May 1981 the Hesse Economic Affairs Minister Heinz-Herbert Karry was killed. In September 1981 an attempt was made to murder the commander of the US forces in Europe General Frederick J. Kroesen in Heidelberg.

On 11 November 1982 Adelheid Schulz and Brigitte Mohnhaupt were captured in Frankfurt. Five days later RAF boss Christian Klar was arrested in the Sachsenwald woods near Hamburg.

In the past six years 40 terrorists or sympathisers have been brought before the courts.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 4 July 1984)